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**No. 1**

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**U. N. GHOSHAL**

Articles :	PAGE
The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan (J. Hackin) ...	1
Notes on the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri) ...	15
Recent Advances in Kambuja Studies (B. R. Chatterjee) ...	43
Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture (O. C. Gangoly) ...	51
<b>Notices of Books :</b>	
KALIKINKAR DATTA, <i>Alivardi and his times</i> (U. N. GHOSHAL); F. M. SCHNITGER, <i>The Archæology of Hindoo Sumatra</i> (J. N. BANERJEA). ...	70
<b>Short Notices</b> ...	75
<b>Obituary Notice</b> ...	76
<b>Select Contents of Oriental Journals :</b> ...	78
<b>Books Received :</b> ...	81

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The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan

By DR. J. Hackin

The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan, through its statues and its mural paintings, furnishes a characteristic illustration of the techniques of Central Asia arising from a laborious adaptation of the very limited local resources to the exigencies of a complex iconographic programme. The modellings in unbaked earth mixed with straw crammed with horse-hair and made firm by the pieces of wood constituting a veritable skeleton, filled the niches of the wall: this last was covered with paintings laid on a plaster composed of a mixture of earth and stuffed straw. This substitution of clay statues for sculptures in schist and for ornaments in stucco so abundant in the north-west of India and in the region of Jelālābād in Afghanistan, was already noticed during the excavations carried out in June 1933 at Teppé Marendjan on the western part of the hill of elongated form which rises immediately to the east of Kabul. One of the clay-modellings discovered at Teppé Marendjan<sup>1</sup> deserves a very special mention. This statue which was

<sup>1</sup> See Odette Bruhl, *Derniers travaux de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, T. VIII, (1934) pp. 116-119 and Pl. XXXVII.

entirely painted was found in a niche of the west face of the monastery which was completely concealed by a supporting wall; the statue appeared nearly intact, the head alone having been detached from the trunk because of a slight falling-off of the vault of the niche. Siddhārtha who is the Bodhisattva here represented, is seated in the oriental fashion, his hands joined in meditation. The torso, admirably modelled, is of a very Indian suppleness. The face with eyes half-closed, very elongated, and of very pronounced ophthalmia, likewise shows a marked Indianisation. The coiffure was a turban provided with a circular median ornament of large dimensions which we could compare with those that adorn the coiffure of the Siddhārtha of the Peshawar Museum brought to light at Sahri Bahlol.<sup>2</sup> The clay-models of Teppé Marendjan and the sculpture in schist from Peshawar are very closely related; the ornaments, the vestments and the coiffures show very slight differences. The rose-apple tree under which the Bodhisattva meditates is depicted in the specimen of Sahri Bahlol by a falling-off of the leaves; at Teppé Marendjan the leaves were partly painted upon the vault of the niche and partly modelled and laid on the wall. It is in the rendering of the anatomical detail that the superiority of the clay-modelling shows itself. To convince oneself of this, it will be sufficient to compare the torsos of the two statues: on the one side suppleness and elegance,<sup>3</sup> on the other, rigidity and heaviness. Reverting to Teppé Marendjan, we must observe that a hiding-place discovered not far from the statue of Bodhisattva Siddhārtha contained gold and silver coins of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, namely, twelve gold coins of the style of Kūshān Shāh Sassanides,<sup>4</sup>

2 A. Foucher, *A.G.B.G.*, II, fig. 413 and p. 219.

3 Total height of the statue of Teppé Marendjan: 1 m. 22; width of the shoulders: 0 m. 57; width of the waist: 0 m. 27.

4 Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 38, pp. 46 & 47.

firstly, Varhran II (with Varhran I) 273-275 A.D. (1 piece), secondly, Bage M...(with Varhran I) 275-276 A.D. (11 pieces), —and 360 silver pieces (drachmae) in the name of Shāpūr II, 310-379 A.D. (338 pieces), Ardashīr II, 379-383 A.D. (11 pieces), Shāpūr III, 383-388 A.D. (11 pieces). It is not without interest to note this fact. We shall return to it again while we shall discuss the question of a find of coins made at Fondukistan.

At Teppé Marendjan, we find ourselves for the first time confronted with the general use of a technique very different from those of which we observed the application while studying the archæological sites of ancient Gandhāra and the region of Jelālābād (schist and stucco). It should be noted that at ancient Kāpīśa to the north of Kābul the sculptures in schist are very near the clay-modellings (excavations at Paitāvā, 1924, excavations at Shotorak, 1937). In fact, it is only beyond Begram, towards Fondukistan and Bāmiyān that the technique of clay-modelling becomes universal: these two sites have not yielded a single sculpture in schist.

Fringed by the terreous hills of rounded foldings, the torrent of Fondukistan comes into the tortuous valley of Ghorband from the east, almost at the entrance of the large village of Siyahgird, situated 117 kilometres to the north-west of Kābul and 128 kilometres to the west of Bāmiyān. From Siyahgird several paths lead towards the village of Fondukistan which gives its name to the valley fertilised by the waters of the torrent. On the right bank of the water-course the most frequented path rises by a steep ascent without intermediate steps up to a vast ruined *qaleh*.<sup>5</sup> This preliminary effort is without any fresh ascent; having crossed several fields regularly sown with wheat and barley, the path reaches a zone where the arboreal vegetation becomes quite dense. Mulberry-trees, apricot-trees and almond-trees give a cool shade in midsummer. The

5 A large fortified building.

other paths, while they do not require the initial efforts of a steep climb, offer the inconvenience of being encumbered, as the bed of the torrent is very near, with pebbles and even with big stones. It is only in the immediate neighbourhood of Fondukistan (nearly 5 kilometres from the village of Siyahgird) that these paths rising by stages finish with those to which we have made allusion.

As soon as the visitor, passing along the principal path, has crossed the steep ascent and the ruins of the *qaleh*, he perceives in the southern direction a conical hill which seems to enclose the valley; in fact, it commands the narrow passage by which the torrent and the path creep their way. In approaching this hill, one observes that it attaches itself by a narrow promontory to the group of heights which from the western boundary of the valley; it is there that one notices the vestiges of the construction crowning the summit of this hill. (fig. 1).

No information concerning Fondukistan reached us before September 1936. I did not know at that time that Fondukistan had been mentioned as early as 1836 by the English traveller Charles Masson in a second memoir on the ancient coins found at Begram (Beghram) in the Kohistan of Kābul. Here is the passage concerning Fondukistan:<sup>6</sup>

"In the district of Ghorband, west of the great hill-range, which, radiating from the *Hindu-Kosh* or Caucasus, forms the Western boundary of Koh Daman, we have very many important vestiges of antiquity, both in the principal valley and in its dependencies, particularly in one of them named *Fondukistan*: we have reasons to believe that coins are found there in considerable numbers and that there are some interesting mounds; but as we have not seen this spot, we refrain from speculating upon its character."

It was while completing our documentation on Begram in 1938 that this interesting passage revealed Fondukistan to

6 *Second Memoir on the Ancient Coins found at Begram in the Kohistan of Kabul*, By Charles Masson, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V (1836), p. 6.

*J.G.I.S. 1940*

Plate I

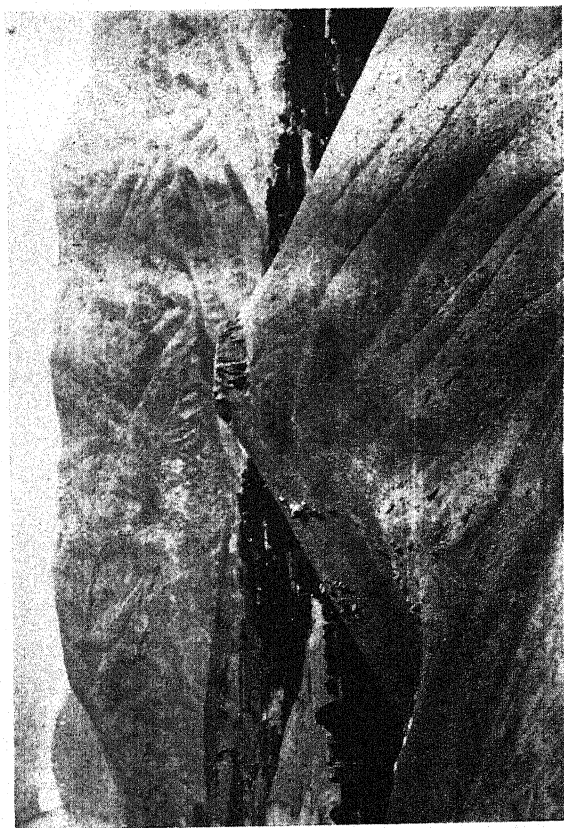


Fig. 1

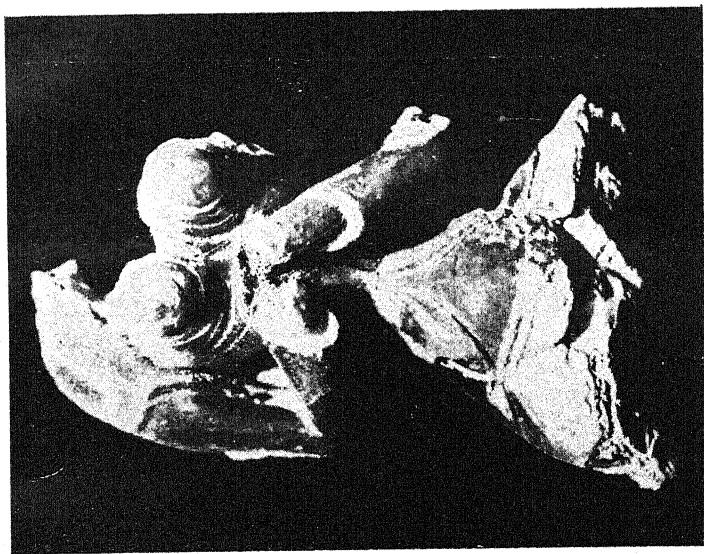


Fig. 2

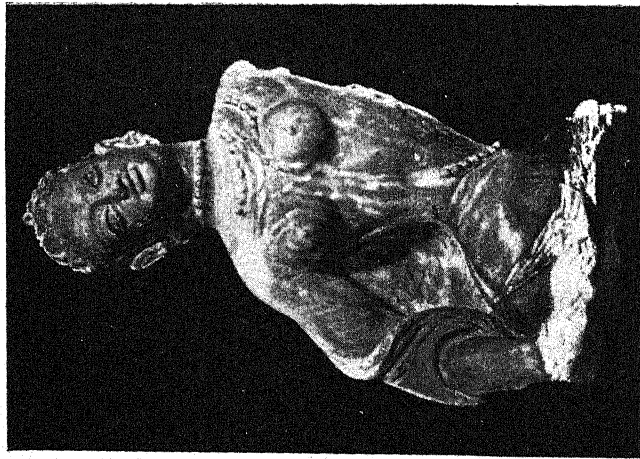


Fig. 3



Fig. 4



us. Our discoveries at Fondukistan show to what extent the account given by our predecessor was worthy of being retained.

When in September 1936, we finished at Kābul our preparations for the expedition which we were to send towards the archæological sites of the region of Sar-o-Tar in the Afghan part of ancient Seistan, some fragments of statuettes, fragile clay-modellings, were brought to the Museum of Kābul. These objects could not but immediately attract our attention. They undoubtedly formed a new acquisition of very great interest. Collected by the Governor of Siyahgird from the Ghorband, these fragments had been discovered by the peasants of the village of Fondukistan<sup>7</sup> who were roused to activity by the children that had climbed the hill on the morrow of a heavy rainfall. A crevice cut through by the sudden afflux of water had brought to light some of these fragments belonging, as we recognised later, to the decoration of niche A of the sanctuary. A reconnaissance carried out on the 25th September (when Messrs. Carl and Meunié accompanied me) enabled us to recognise the importance of the site and the interest which a methodically-conducted excavation would create. The work begun in May 1937 was conducted by M. J. Carl assisted by M. Mohammed Aziz Khan, a former pupil of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts of Kābul. I found occasion several times to visit the sheds in order to follow the work of excavation and to study the site along with the numerous objects brought to light.

The Buddhist monastery of Fondukistan comprises a sanctuary and its appendages: cells, meeting-halls and out-houses. M. J. Carl first took up the clearance of the sanctuary which was a hall on an evidently square plan, apparently with cylindrical vault and built of unbaked bricks of large dimensions. The deep niches likewise vaulted with cylindrical vault opened into a great hall of which the centre was

7 M. J. Carl visited Fondukistan on the 16th May 1937.



occupied by a stūpa of square base. Externally each of these niches was framed in a simple arcade; these elements were connected with the others by a horizontal string-course resisting on pilasters with pseudo-Corinthian capitals which were distributed on both sides of the entrance of each niche. The modelled scroll-patterns forming this cincture of arcades resemble very closely (we shall have occasion to return to this subject) the modelled decoration of the Caves I, II and XI of Bāmiyān. The carefully executed paintings covered the vault and the walls of the niche, the figures being still visible in places. The paintings form only a small part of the completed decorative programme; the most marked element is represented by the clay-modellings, large statues placed at the bottom of the niches, busts fixed against the wall by means of wooden dowels; a clever polychromy rendered all these elements clearly of a piece with the painted decoration.

The openings of all these niches were totally blocked and the rubbish in places formed a veritable mortar which the pick-axe could not remove; let us add that the vaults of niches A, F and G had given way. It was owing to this fact, since the washing away of the rain-water had been very effective, that the fragments forming a part of decoration of niche A had been partly extricated. As we have seen, these objects found their way to the Museum of Kābul where they were exhibited in September 1936.<sup>8</sup>

The observations made by M. J. Carl, while proceeding to the clearance of niche A, show that these statues were fixed against the wall by means of wooden dowels and that only the upper portion of the body appeared to be placed in the offset of a small balustrade support. Niche A comprised iconographic details of the same order, the balustrade being replaced by a drapery (fig. 3). In both cases (niches

8 J. Hackin, *Au sujet de quelques statues bouddhiques récemment mises au jour en Afghanistan*, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, Tome X, fs. 3 pp. 130-131 & Pl. XLV.

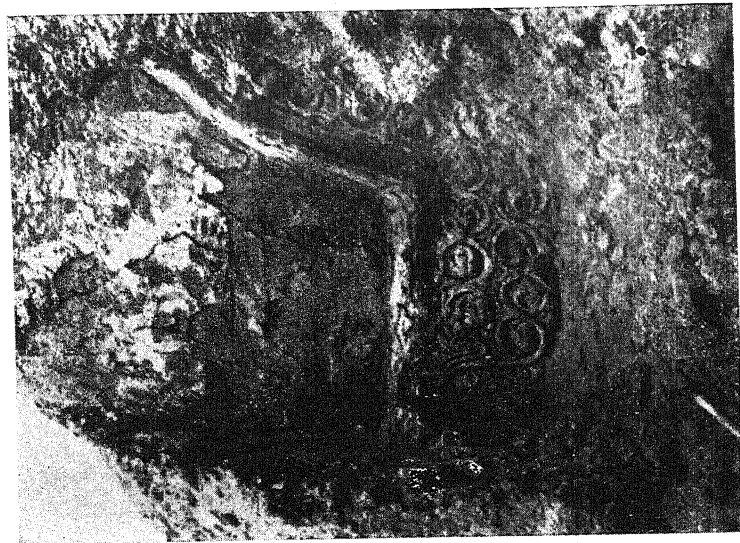


Fig. 6



Fig. 5

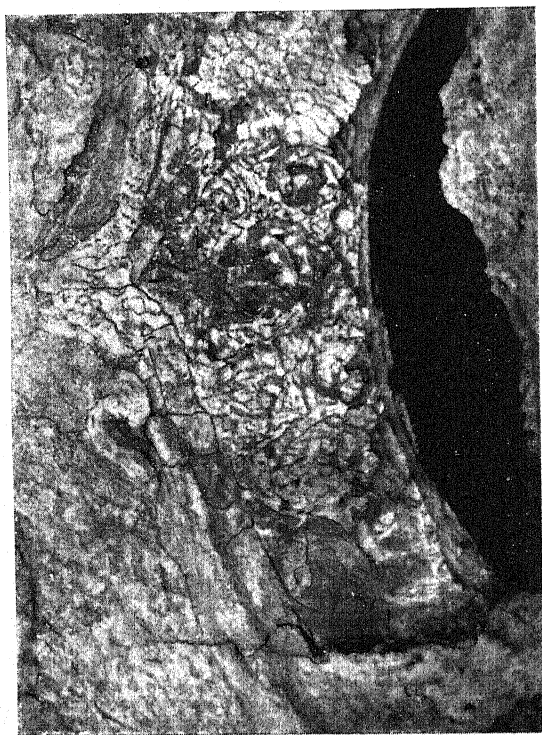


Fig. 7

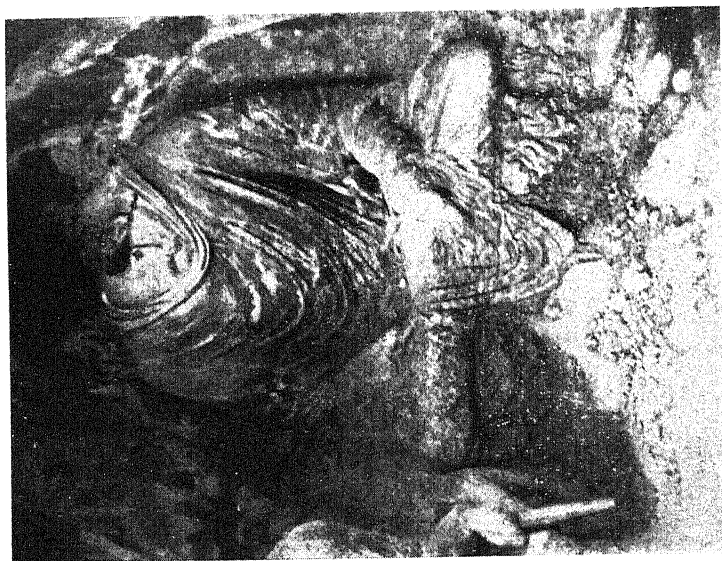


Fig. 9

A and B) an anatomical peculiarity attracts the attention of the observer, namely, a lengthening and a very marked curvature of the torso, this curvature in arch being accentuated by the inclination of the head. Of the specimens representing female personages, the measurements taken show prominently a marked contrast between the waist and the hips. In conclusion, it should be mentioned that the feminine costume of Central Asia is also represented (fig. 2). Although very much damaged, the fragment of this statuette shows the characteristic details, viz., an adjusted corset closely fitting the torso up to the base of the breasts which are covered with a light stuff (fig. 2). Among the fragments brought to light, No. 3 (fig. 3) clearly bears the impress of Indian influence. It is only distinguished from an Indian image by the shorter length of the arms. This specimen, by its elongated torso, its spare waist, its very developed hips, shows itself distinctly Indian. Equally Indian is the necklace of pearls passing between the two breasts so as to go round the waist. One of the male figures (fig. 4) wears, tied around the torso, a sort of scarf resembling the *udarabandha* of purely Indian statues.<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the very large and widely opened eyes have hemmed eye-lashes, the exophthalmia being now and then accentuated. Occasionally also the eye-brows are placed very high, such is the case with a Bodhisattva whose hair exhibits by its short waves a Hellenistic treatment (fig. 5). This is the only trace of Hellenistic influence which it has been given to us to turn up while examining the objects brought to light in A. The ornaments consist of necklaces, medallions and curious bracelets (*keyūras*) adorning the upper portion of the arms. These ornaments are provided with pendants and they very distinctly resemble certain motifs of ornamentation of Gupta style.

9 See F. H. Gravely, and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum; New Series, General Section*, Vol. I, Pt. 2, p. 20.

*Niche B*

Niche B was blocked by rubbish and earth forming compact blocks transformed by the action of rain-water into a veritable mortar, upon which the pick-axe had no effect. We had to renounce the clearance of this niche.

The statues which were fragile modellings confined in a compact and very firm gangue could not be extricated.

*Niche C*

As the rain-water did not penetrate very much into the interior of this niche, the rubbish was not formed as was the case with B, into compact blocks unassailable by the pick-axe. The clearance of niche C, although a very slow process, was carried out in a satisfactory manner. The horizontal portion of the decoration of the façade appeared at first; the double border of the scroll-pattern came out, on the right, from a small vase placed at the bottom of the east face of the wall (fig. 6). The small vase placed exactly at the angle served to balance the borders of the scroll-pattern of the northern and eastern faces. The upper border-

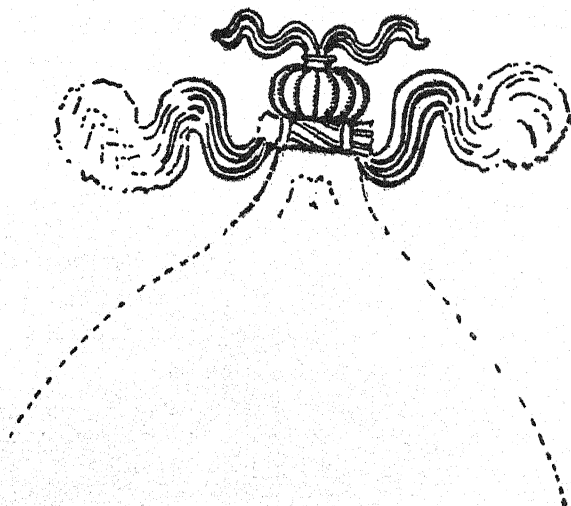


FIG. 8.

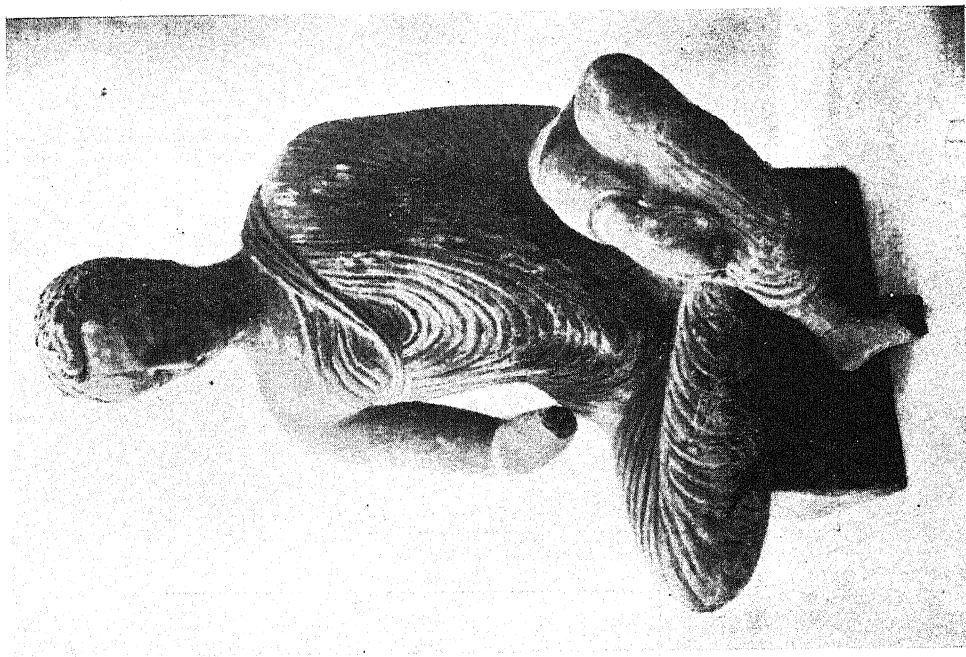


Fig. 11

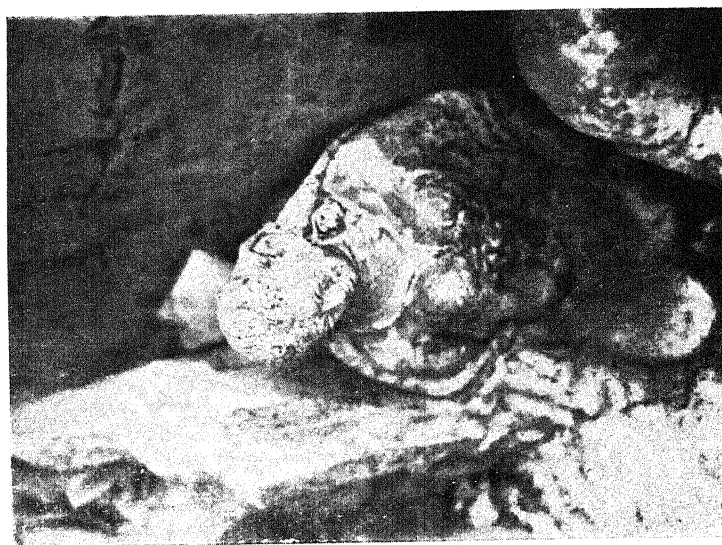


Fig. 10



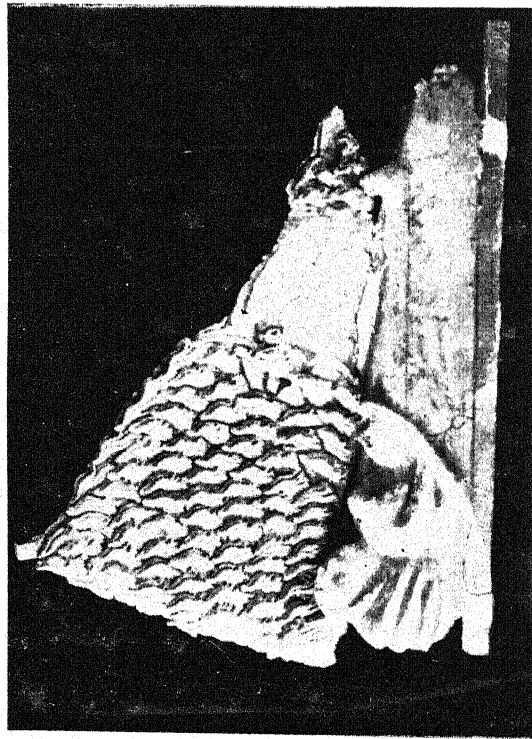


Fig. 12

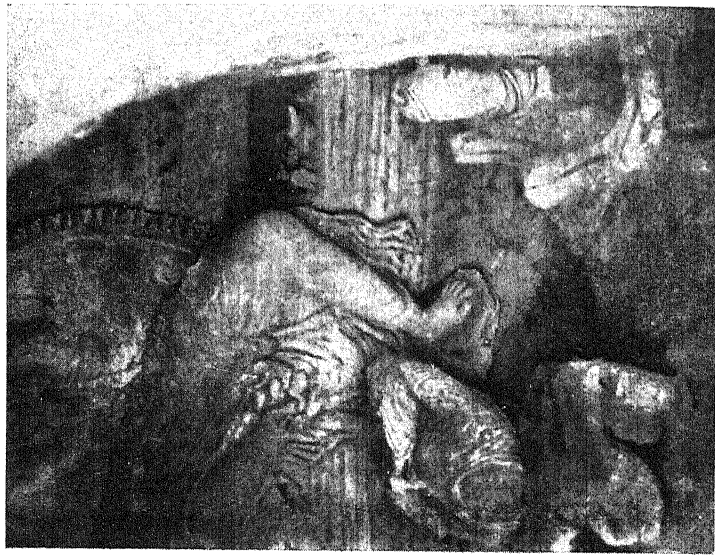


Fig. 13

of the arcade just forms a double carved bracket (fig. 7) resembling what we found in the Caves I, II and XI of Bāmiyān (fig. 8). This double bracket was apparently surmounted by a small fluted and ribboned vase from which escaped two sinuous waves; the whole resembling what we have observed at Bāmiyān (fig. 8);<sup>10</sup> a fragment of the left part of the ribbon is still visible. Between the niches C and D the string-course of the coupling-piece was adorned in the middle with a human circular mascaron encircled by leaves resembling those which entered into the composition of the scroll-pattern (see niche E). The stalks of the scroll-pattern emerge from the mouth of the mascaron which has not the bestial aspect of the mascarons, the coupling-pieces of Caves I, II and XI of Bāmiyān. The upper portion of the string-course is adorned with birds flying towards the left. The base of the niche was occupied by a seated Buddha (fig. 9), draped in a monastic mantle covering both shoulders from which the flames gushed out; water, traversed by very stylised waves treated in low relief, appeared at the base of the pedestal. We find ourselves therefore in presence of a representation of the Buddha of the Great Miracle (Yamaka-prātihārya), an iconographic theme frequently found in ancient Kāpiśa. On each side of the great Buddha whose head has not been found, two female figures are seated with inclined heads, they have the waist supported and the breast covered with a light corselet; a light scarf covers the shoulders (fig. 10). Near the exit of the niche there were two Buddhas seated in the pose of royal relaxation; the monastic mantle wound round so as to leave one shoulder bare; the lower garment, cutting by its blue colour across the red of the monastic mantle, was found fixed against the torso. The monastic mantle with regular creased folds adheres to the torso whose elegant model remains very clear. The waist is spare, the chest developed, the

<sup>10</sup> J. Hackin with the collaboration of J. Carl, *Nonvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Pl. XXXII.



upper portion of the body gives an impression of elegance and of grace full of dignity. This suppleness recalls the very distinct Gupta and post-Gupta Indian reminiscences in reaction against the heaviness of the last productions of the artists of Gandhāra and of Kāpiśa (fig. 11).

On each side of the summit of the vault are distinctly seen traces of the nimbus and the aureoles and the holes for fixing the wooden dowels: these last marked the positions which had been occupied by the figures represented in bust above a drapery equally fixed against the wall. These models, which have unhappily been destroyed, were of the same type as those found in niche E. The standing figures had likewise occupied the positions marked by their nimbus and their aureoles, slightly beyond the assistant Buddhas represented as seated. On the right lateral wall towards the entrance of the niche at mid-height between the ground and the vault, there appeared still in place a modelling of a sleeping female; the head turned towards the entrance of the niche rests on a pile of three flat pillows, a quilt covers the lower part of the body leaving bare the very remarkable abdomen which is pierced by a hole at the position of the navel, the arms rest along the body, the hair is wavy, the eyes appear closed. Behind this figure and fixed against the wall is a sort of triangular screen of stylised flames. We find ourselves apparently in presence of a representation of the mother of Jyotiṣka, the child saved from fire by the miraculous intervention of Buddha (fig. 12).

Of the three Gandharian bas-reliefs representing this scene and reproduced by M. A. Foucher in his "*Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*,"<sup>11</sup> the third alone could be compared with modellings of niche C; this fragment shows the child still half-entangled in the material bosom amidst the flames. The child should be equally represented at Fondukistan, and if it has disappeared, the position which it occupied is still marked by the opening in the abdomen of the mother.

<sup>11</sup> A. Foucher, *A.G.B.G.*, I, p. 528 & fig. 260.

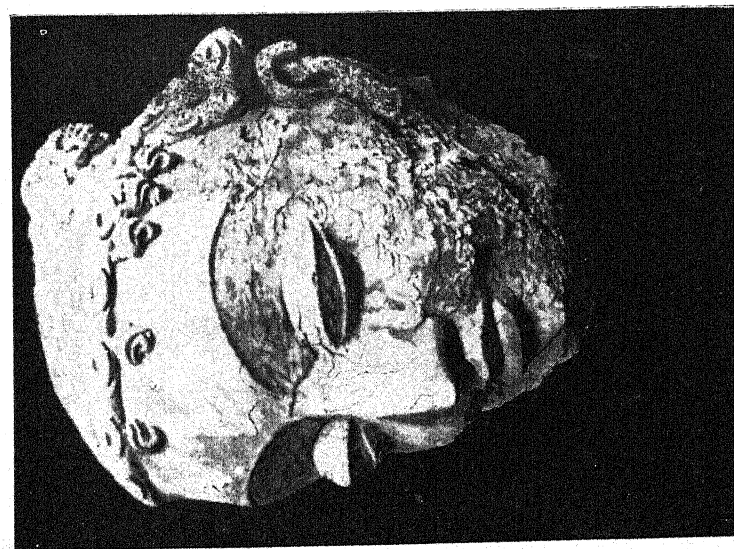


Fig. 14

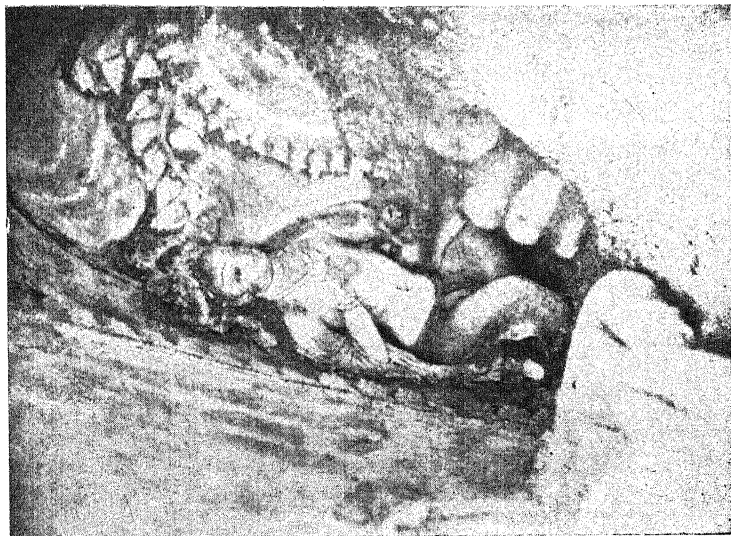


Fig. 15

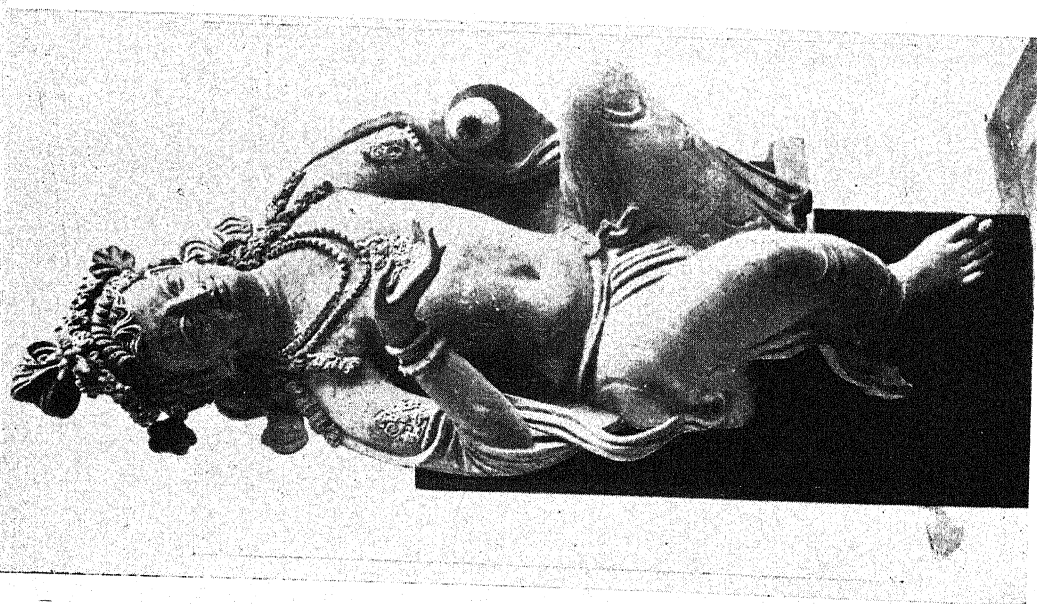


Fig. 16

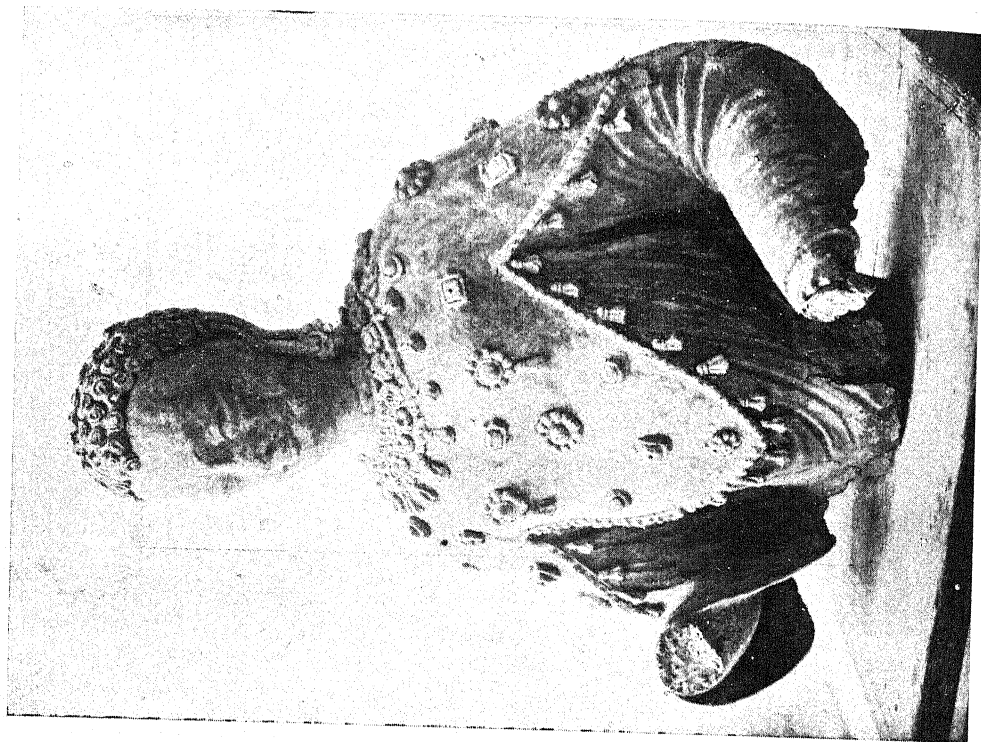


Fig. 17

In fact, the miracle limits itself to a cæsarian operation carried out in difficult conditions. It should be noted that both personages represented in bust are standing at the height of the head of the sleeping female. The paintings adorning the niche are very much damaged: the dominant colour was a gouache blue; a reddish brown likewise appears as well as several touches of green.

### NICHE D

The decoration on the façade of niche D has completely disappeared. Against the wall from the base of the niche there leaned up a large Bodhisattva seated in the posture of royal relaxation (*lalitāsana*) on a pedestal depicting a fictitious arrangement of horizontally disposed bricks; under a Bodhi tree (of *figus religiosa* variety) the whole upper portion of the body has disappeared (fig. 13), but the head of the statue has been found among the rubbish which encumbered the entrance of the niche (fig. 14). Of the diadem nothing more survives than a very small circle adorned with an egg-shaped decoration, from which the short meshes and curls of hair escape at regular intervals. The face was covered with gold-leaves laid on a red background. The very prominent eye-ball is partly covered by the eyelids in such a way that the palpebral slit appears very elongated, the outer angle being characterised by a very pointed form. The eye-brows, placed very high, present a regular tracing; the nose very lightly snubbed is large enough; the mouth small, the lips fleshy; the general effect of the mascaron relatively squat and chubby. Reverting to what is left of the statue of a very delicate model, we perceive the left leg, of which the naked feet rest on a lotus, the *dhoti* delicately envelops the leg of which the elegant curve is visible under the light stuff which is pleated in sinuous and subtly arranged folds; the right upraised leg is supported by three superimposed cushions—a branch of the *figus* appears in the

space comprised between the calf and the haunch. The statue had for its background an aureole fringed with small oval ornaments emphasised by a pearl, each of these elements being surmounted by three pearls. Above the aureole appear the branches and leaves of the *figus*, several branches of which the traces are still visible on the wall have detached themselves. Inclining against the right corner at the junction of the walls (with reference to the principal statue) of the niche, there appeared a secondary seated divinity, the left leg placed under the hanging right leg (fig. 15). This representation, by the subtleness of its attitude, the grace and elegance of its form, the affection of its gesture, recalls the post-Gupta Indian antecedents. The ornaments form a remarkable group finely wrought by the goldsmith, of which the principal decorative motif found in the diadem, the pendentive necklace and the rings on the arms, is composed of a central cabochon above and below which appear the ornaments of trefoil shape; these motifs are fringed by scroll-pattern ornaments of which the curved parts are slightly dented at their terminal parts; this detail resembles a peculiarity which we shall have occasion to point out while studying the scroll-patterns surmounting the entrance of niche E. The necklaces and bracelets are formed of large pearls. The diadem comprises an ornamentation of complex character; the motif with cabochon and scroll-pattern is twice repeated there. A large flower with elongated petals resembling a *clematis* is laid on a double crown of flowers with five engraved petals of rounded form. The second crown placed above the first encircles a chignon elegantly disposed in the form of a vertically raised shell. The lower crown rests upon a rolled headband and slightly brings back the hair from behind; the diadem appears fixed and supported by a large ribbon which falls sinuously behind the head. The black hair with long curls disposed symmetrically sprawls out on the shoulder; two meshes diverge towards the chest. The statue, when extricated, was in a state of remarkable fresh-



Fig. 18

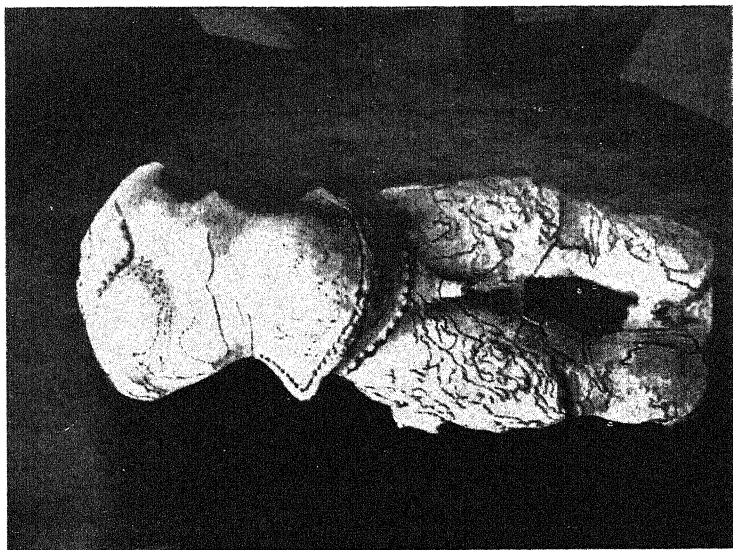


Fig. 20





Fig. 19

ness. The tint of extreme whiteness formed a thin pellicle laid upon a reddish plaster. The very large eyes with pronounced exophthamy, with the pupils surrounded with black, give the whole work a surprising appearance of life. The highly raised and very divergent eye-brows are also black; the nose large and slightly flattened. The colours including the blue bands of the *dhoti* are placed layer by layer so as to leave behind only the basic reddish colour (fig. 16). Another *devatā* of the same type as that which we have just described, was placed in the left wall-corner of the niche. Obviously of the same height as the *devatās* there appeared fixed against the lateral right and left walls of this same niche but partially destroyed, a few Buddhas seated upon the lotus; on the right a Buddha of classical type whose torso having for its background an aureole bordered with stylised flames was found broken at the feet of the central Bodhisattva; on the left an ornamental Buddha (fig. 17), the upper part of whose body was intact, while the face was mutilated (the restoration was affected at Paris). This Buddha partly concealing the *saṅghāṭi* wore a sort of hood with three points of blue colour and adorned with square and round cabochons; these last are encircled with pearls and provided with a pendant resembling those which appeared to be attached to the necklace and the border of the hood. It should be noted that the hood with three points is not peculiar to Fondukistan; a fragment of a statuette in stucco, discovered at Haḍḍa (mission J. Barthoux) exhibits a garment of the same kind; in this last case the Buddha wears a necklace in the form of a torque and a second necklace with three tough plaits lengthened by the heads of *maḥaras* (?) confronting each other and holding in their mouths the end of a small chain with a cabochon. Three crescents adorn the hood, one in a median position on the chest and the other two on the shoulders. We have already had occasion to indicate this type of garment while studying the iconography of the paintings in the rupestal sanctuary of Bāmiyān



(Cave 1). We have here to deal with an ornamented Buddha appearing at the summit of the vault of the sanctuary.<sup>12</sup>

The two Buddhas to which we have just alluded, while passing in review the objects brought to light in niche D, were placed (as we have had occasion to remark) upon the lotus. The stalks which support the lotus plunge into a small basin from which two Nāga kings rise into view (fig. 18). The upper part of the body alone emerges; it would seem that we are confronted with a representation of a purely anthropomorphic character. Lightly bent, they lean on their elbows against the upraised border of the basin. The height and the base of the torso appear to prolong by their quasi-reptilian subtleness the zoomorphic portion of these human serpents which is concealed (fig. 19). The physical type is singular; the elongated face with very convexed front; it resembles, however, the physical aspect of the *devatās* and the Buddhas we have already studied. The hair arranged into a chignon is represented by short waves. In the hair there appears a serpent with body marked by circles. The jewels resemble the ornaments borne by the *devatās*. One of the two Nāga kings on the left lateral wall is destroyed. Towards the summit of the vault of the same niche D there appeared still fixed against the vault but very much damaged (as the head has been broken), the statuette of a male personage; the lower part of the body is uncovered; a waist-band adorned with a row of pearls emphasises the lower part of the abdomen. A curious vestment in the form of a breast-plate covers the chest and a portion of the abdomen (fig. 20).

(To be continued)

[Translated by U. N. Ghoshal]

<sup>12</sup> J. Hackin and J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Pl. XV, fig. 19.

## Notes on the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago

By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

Information relating to the ancient geography and history of Malayasia comes to us from different sources :

- (a) inscriptions, literature and traditions of the locality;
- (b) Indian literature and epigraphy;
- (c) notices of classical writers, particularly in Ptolemy's geography;
- (d) Chinese travel books and animals ; and
- (e) Arabic travellers and geographers.

Sometimes the data drawn from two or more of these sources corroborate one another admirably, and in these instances we can be sure of our conclusions from such data. But more often they are conflicting, and this gives rise to divergent views of their true import.

Recently Mr. Ir. J. L. Moens has attempted to review these data primarily from the geographical standpoint in a comprehensive paper on *Ārīvijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha* in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en volkenkunde* for 1937 (pp. 317-486). I have already examined the subject in so far as it relates to Kaṭāha,<sup>1</sup> and I propose in what follows to discuss as briefly as possible some of the other questions arising out of Moens' paper.

Moens' introduction to his paper lays stress on the difficulties and uncertainties of the subject and the wide scope offered by these for differences of opinion. Authors transcribing foreign proper names adopt one of several methods open to them; they transcribe the names phonetically using

the symbols in their own language which approximate closet to the original names as they read it or heard it pronounced; they take the substance of the name and translate it into their own language; or finally they fasten their attention on some prominent feature of the land they have in mind and give it a new name indicating this feature. The Chinese writers seem to have adopted all these methods, and we often lack the means of deciding which one has been followed in any given case. And they often reproduce earlier writers without revealing their sources. The Arab writers, numerous though they be, are not as valuable or precise as they appear; for here again later writers copied the earlier ones, and their data on the latitudes and longitudes of places, like those of Ptolemy, do not seem to bear any tangible relation to facts, and are often no more helpful in deciding the identity of places than their general descriptions of them. Again it seems possible that data relating to different places with similar names or to one and the same place but of different epochs sometimes got mixed up in these accounts. And the need for proceeding with caution is self-evident.

The standpoint from which I have sought to approach the points made in Moens' learned paper may be briefly indicated at the outset. Much hard work has been done on these questions and certain conclusions have gained more or less general consent from scholars. While these conclusions are by no means the last word on the subject and we should be prepared to overthrow them and put others in their place if proper reasons are shown, we should be prepared to maintain them as against any others which are not demonstrably superior to them in validity. I shall illustrate my meaning by a reference to some general principles laid down by Moens in his introduction (Inleiding). He says for instance: "And certainly it is in my opinion not proper to twist *positive geographical* indications to (support) an idea founded exclusively on a *phonetical* identity of names. I recall here the generally accepted identification of Chö-po (Ho-ling) of the seventh to ninth century, which according to the Chinese

sources must have lain in the Northern Hemisphere, with our Java (Chö-po) that lies on the other side of the equator."<sup>2</sup> But does this mean anything more than that Moens prefers to attach more importance to some geographical data than to identity of names? And in the very next paragraph he proceeds to state another principle which rests at least in part on the very phonetic identity of names, so heavily discounted earlier. For he says: "If however by a sound application of the available geographical (and historical) checks we determine the approximate location of a given place or district, and also find still in that very neighbourhood an indigenous name which is a phonetic equivalent—or even only an approximation—of the given transcription, then, I think, we may, with good reason, suppose that we have been on the right track." Here again much must depend on the 'sound application' of the available data, historical and geographical; Moens himself speaks elsewhere of insuperable difficulties that crop up in relating the old geographical data to modern maps;<sup>3</sup> and there is further the possibility of data relating to different places of the same name or with similar names having been mixed up in our sources. In fact, the very statements of the principles I have cited in Moens' own words, hedged in by so many if-s, go to show that there can be no simple rules on this subject and that the scope for differences of view is very wide indeed.

The next step in Moens' argument relates to what he considers to be the difficulties peculiar to Indonesia. He says that the states with which we are concerned were pirate-states with very limited jurisdiction outside their chief strongholds, and that till the 18th century when the European powers began to exercise some steadying influence, these pirate-states, no sea-powers these, repeatedly changed the locality of their strongholds without any change in the names of the states. And he cites some late instances of this phenomenon. There were pirates in all ages, and just

2 Op. cit. p. 323.

3 Op. cit. 324-5.

before the establishment of the European domination in the East, piracy was more rampant than ever; but one may doubt if this justifies the sweeping inference of Moens that all Indonesian states were pirate-states throughout the ages. This at any rate is not the impression I have derived from the study of the inscriptions and literature bearing on the Hindu period of Indonesia with which we are primarily concerned, and I am therefore inclined to view with suspicion any reasoning based on this large, unproven, and improbable assumption.

Moens concludes the introduction by avowing his greater faith in the geographical data from the ancient geographers and travellers and maps of more recent times than a philologist like Ferrand was inclined to evince, and by stating that if his new attempt to interpret these data is at all just, the entire structure of early Malayasian history will have to be rebuilt from the beginning.

## II

The location of Śrīvijaya is the first problem Moens takes up for consideration. He points out that the Chinese and often also the Arab writers think of Malaka as extending East to West, instead of N.W. to S.E., and Sumatra as lying parallel to and south of Malaka, and finally of Java as lying to the east of it, so that the Chinese held it to be S.E. of Canton, and not S.S.W. as on a modern map. This wrong alignment must be corrected before any attempt is made to identify places on modern maps. Again in the days of sailing ships, the duration of a voyage from one place to another varied with many factors, the nature of the wind and the type of ship being most important among them; hence the distances mentioned in our sources can be accepted only as rough indications.

I-tsing (*Record*, completed 692 A.D.) and the T'ang Annals agree in locating Śrīvijaya to the East, i.e., S.E., in modern maps, of P'o-lou-che (Baros), and this leads Moens

to conclude that the place must have been on or near the east coast of central Sumatra, near the equator and on the maritime route between China and India.<sup>4</sup> But a place farther to the south on the east coast of Sumatra is certainly not ruled out by the vague indications of these two Chinese authorities.

In the itinerary of his journey to India I-tsing gives the following data :

Ton-kin to Śrīvijaya	30 days
Śrīvijaya to Malāyu	15 days
Malāyu to Kēḍah (Kie-tch'a)	15 days
Kēḍah to Negapatam	30 days

But he says in his *Record*: 'Malāyu is now Śrīvijaya.' Moens concludes from this that at the time of I-tsing's journey from Canton to India in 671 A.D. Malāyu was midway between Śrīvijaya and Kēḍah. And as I-tsing says also that he changed direction at Malāyu for going to Kie-tch'a (Kēḍah), the chances are that Śrīvijaya must be sought on the east coast of the Malaka about the same latitude as Kēḍah and that Malāyu must have been somewhere on the east coast of Sumatra, possibly at Palembang on the estuary of the Musi. And this location of Malāyu in this period gains support from Krom's discovery of the name of Malāyu at the end of line 7 of the Keḍukan Bukit inscription.<sup>5</sup> Palembang was called Malayo by the Javanese in the days of Albuquerque.<sup>6</sup>

The statement in the *Record*: 'Malāyu is now Śrīvijaya' may thus be understood literally, and we suppose

4 Moens says that Kazwīnī (13th century) locates Śrīvijaya in the same locality and refers to Pelliot p. 339. Now the passage cited by Pelliot locating Sribuza at the extremity of the island of Lameri is from the *Adjaib* of Buzurg ibn Shahriyar, and I do not think that the passage lends any clear support to Moens' view as he himself allows in the course of his discussion (pp. 331-2).

5 *Die Heiligdomraen van Palembang*: pp. 25-26.

6 TP. vii (1896), p. 120.

that as a result of the expedition recorded in the Keḍukan Bukit inscription the king of Śrīvijaya established himself in Malāyu, in other words, that Palembang became Śrīvijaya from that date (683 A.D.). The change of the location of Śrīvijaya was then the most important part of the *Śrīvijaya-Jaya-Siddhayātrā* recorded in the K. B. inscription dated 683 A.D. And Çœdès has recently restated convincingly the case for locating the historic Śrīvijaya at Palembang.<sup>7</sup>

Moens finds confirmation of the original location of Śrīvijaya on the east coast of Malaka in the statement of the New T'ang Annals that at Śrīvijaya a gnomon of 8' cast a shadow *towards the south* of the length of 2' 5" on the day of the summer-solstice. And unless we assume a change of locality in the meantime, this datum could not be easily reconciled with the statement of I-tsing that during the two equinoxes almost no shadow was cast at midday in Śrīvijaya either by a gnomon or by a man standing erect, and that the maximum shadows, northward as well as southward, cast in the course of a year are there practically equal. But neither this statement of I-tsing nor even that of Yākūt (cited by Moens) that Śrībuza is an island on the equator exporting camphor is, I think, sufficiently precise to enable us to decide between the usual location of Śrīvijaya in the neighbourhood of Palembang and the Kampar basin proposed for it by Moens.<sup>8</sup>

Moens, however, says: 'Śrīvijaya could first establish itself in Malāyu after it had mastered its capital Palembang and driven out the ruling family;<sup>9</sup> and adds: 'it established its capital, however, elsewhere in this land Malāyu, *viz.*, more to the north, in the direct neighbourhood of the Strait which

7 *Apropos d'une nouvelle theorie sur le site de Çrivijaya*, Journal Malay Br. R.A.S. Dec. 1936.

8 Op. cit. pp. 334-37. See also Takakusu, *Record*, pp. 143-44, and n. 3. Moens himself admits the approximate nature of these astronomical data in discussing the site of old Kelatan, *Ibid.*, p. 342.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 333.

it was to command thereafter.' Moens seeks support for this more northerly position of Śrīvijaya from other sources besides the astronomical data from I-tsing. Kia Tan's statement that Lo-yue and Śrīvijaya lie on the opposite coasts of the Malaka Strait implies that the latter must be nearer the maritime route rounding Malay Peninsula than Palembang.<sup>10</sup> The present morassy condition of the Kampar delta suggests that about twelve centuries ago the coast must have lain much farther to the west than now, and the Arab descriptions (Buzurg, Ibn Said, Abulfeda) of the estuary on which Serbuza is located tally with this. The capital situated on the Kampar must have occupied an easily defended position behind the labyrinth of water routes cut up by numerous little islands that could accommodate a large fleet unnoticed by the enemy. And the fertile country of the Padang highlands behind it must have put it into easy touch with the ancient port of Priaman on the opposite coast of Sumatra facing the Indian Ocean. The excellence of the site was shown in modern times by the lively trade between Kampar and Singapore which flourished till the rise of a new harbour, Emurahaven about 1892. All these factors render it probable in Moens' opinion that the ruins of Muara Takus +0°20' N.L. are the remains of Śrīvijaya after its transplantation to Sumatra. There are local traditions here of an extensive city (the round of which a cat took three months to cover) under Rāja (Śrī) vijaya, and of a Datu Śrīvijaya living in Kota Baru or near about. All this renders it highly probable that the capital city of Śrīvijaya is represented by the ruins of Muara Takus near the confluence of Kampar Kanan and Batang Mahat in the heart of Central Sumatra.

I believe I have fairly summarised all the considerations urged by Moens in favour of his suggestion regarding the new location of Śrīvijaya. I do not think, however, that any of them or all of them taken together are of sufficient

<sup>10</sup> pp. 336-42.



weight to prevail against those which point to Palembang and its neighbourhood as the site of Śrīvijaya. The early Buddha statue from Bukit Seguntang and the Kedukan Bukit record seem to leave no room for any further doubt in this matter. All the other considerations, including the citations from Arab writers, are indecisive and seem to apply as much to Palembang, if not better, as to the other site. The ruins of Muara Takus may indeed in part go back to the age of Śrīvijaya, and this is quite intelligible in the light of the epigraphical evidence pointing to the erection of similar structures in parts of the Malaka peninsula under the hegemony of Śrīvijaya.<sup>11</sup> In fact, the tradition relating to Datu Śrīvijaya indicates, as Krom has observed, not that the capital city lay here, but only a provincial headquarter ruled by a *datu* of Śrīvijaya and that the place stood in the same relation to Śrīvijaya as Bangka and Karang Brahi under the jurisdiction of similar *datus*.<sup>12</sup> I do not think that a case has been made out for the view that the transplantation of Śrīvijaya comprised two stages: (1) the overpowering of Palembang, the old capital of Malāyu and (2) the establishment of the centre of the new power further north at Muara Takus.

Moens says elsewhere:<sup>13</sup> 'As a result of the usual identification of the capital Śrīvijaya with Palembang, people were obliged to locate Malāyu elsewhere and it was easy to choose the neighbouring place of Jambi for that purpose. We must correct this generally accepted opinion to this extent, *viz.*, that the oldest Malāyu comprised Palembang as well as Jambi, in other words, included the whole of Middle and South Sumatra.' The conclusion reached here seems probable now not, however, for the reason assigned by Moens, but because of the new reading proposed by Krom

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Krom *H-J.G.*, pp. 132-33.

<sup>12</sup> *De Heiligdommen*, p. 27 n. 2 and *H-J.G.*, p. 116.

<sup>13</sup> pp. 358-59.

for part of 1. 7 of Keḍukan Bukit inscription to which reference was made above.

The upshot of this discussion may be summed up briefly thus. Śrīvijaya does seem to have changed its situation in the interval between I-tsing's first visit (671) and the period of his literary activity there (685-92); the evidence in favour of this view is furnished by :

1. the statement of I-tsing that Malāyu had become Śrīvijaya;
2. the connection between the conquest of Malāyu and the *Śrīvijaya-jaya-siddhayātrā* established by Krom's reading of 1. 7 of the Keḍukan Bukit record; and
3. the astronomical data on Śrīvijaya supplied by the New T'ang Annals and by I-tsing to the combined significance of which Moens has drawn pointed attention.

But the site of Palembang, either itself called Malāyu at first or situated in a district with that name, became Śrīvijaya after the transfer, and became the seat of the famous empire passing under that name in history, and the arguments adduced in support of a more northern site in Central Sumatra do not seem to bear the test of criticism. It seems probable that the original site of Śrīvijaya lay somewhere on the east coast of Malaka. For establishing this proposition I-tsing's itineraries seem to be enough. But Moens has adduced other arguments which are closely bound up with the location and history of Chō-po (Yāva) and must be considered along with that subject.

### III

The discussion of the location of Yāva is opened by Moens with the statement : "In order not to get entangled in the many names of lands which are homophonous with our name *Java*, we must weigh with care the geographical content of the relative sources as well as their chronological

order." This is again one of those general principles which appear quite sound because in the abstract they state only the obvious, but which when applied to individual cases, begin to exhibit wide differences in the hands of different writers.

"Before all", continues Moens, "we should learn to free ourselves from current notions which, considered critically, mostly continue the tradition of more or less intuitive identifications of places. Thus, for instance, it should seem that names like *Yavadvīpa* of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the inscription of Sañjaya of 732 A.D., the second century *Jabadiou* of Ptolemy, the third century *Tchou-po*, the fifth century *Ye-p'o-ti* and *Cho-p'o*, the sixth century *Tou-po*, the seventh century *Yen-mo-na* of Hiuen-Tsang, the *Ho-ling* of I-tsing, that in the T'ang annals (618-906 A.D.) is also called *Cho-p'o*, and lastly the ninth century and later Arabic *Zābag* or *Zābaj*, signify not our Java, as has been supposed till now, nor even one and the same (is) land. Java is indeed designated *Chō-p'o* from the beginning of the tenth century first in the Song annals (906-1279 A.D.) as will appear from the geographical position described in the chronicle in detail. And it is this last *Chō-p'o*—not the fifth century one, as Pelliot thought,—that gets in the thirteenth century the Chinese name which stands phonetically closer to our name Java, viz., *Chao-wa*, also written *Koua-wa* by mistake."<sup>14</sup> We see here the general trend of Moens' method and conclusions; we must follow his detailed demonstrations to find out how far he has succeeded in his endeavour to replace the 'intuitive' traditional identifications of places now generally accepted.

And first as regards *Chō-p'o* before the beginning of the Song period (tenth century A.D.). The crucial passage here is the statement in the *Annals of the First Song Dynasty* (420-478 A.D.): 'the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan on the island of *Chō-p'o* sent an embassy to present the products of the

country'. Again, the Souei annals (589-618 A.D.) state that the kingdom of Ho-lo-tan lies to the south of *Tch'e-tou*.<sup>15</sup> The method followed by all writers who have dealt with these texts is to fix the location of one of the places mentioned in them and then suggest identifications of the other places with reference to that one. Pelliot starts by assuming that *Chö-p'o* is Java; before him Schlegel, and now Moens, by supposing that Ho-lo-tan is Kelantan. Thus Pelliot observes:<sup>16</sup> "If *Chö-p'o* is Java, it follows from the text of the *Song-chou* that Ho-lo-tan was in Java; and and this contradicts Schlegel who identifies it with Kelantan." Moens, on the other hand, says:<sup>17</sup> "If my identification of the kingdom Ho-lo-tan of the 5th century situated on the island *Chö-p'o* with the present-day Kelantan on the east coast of Malaka, is correct, then must this "island *Chö-p'o* indeed stand for Malaka!" But when Moens proposes this identification in his chapter on Śrīvijaya, he says<sup>18</sup> that it is only tentative, and not material to his argument (on Śrīvijaya).

Again *Tch'e-tou* (red earth) is identified by Schlegel with Siam and as a result Ho-lo-tan to the south of it is sought by him in the Malay peninsula. Pelliot doubts the identity of Siam with *Tch'e-tou*, but also adds<sup>19</sup> that even if this is granted for the sake of argument, Ho-lo-tan in Java may still be described as lying to the south of *Tch'e-tou*, like saying: Algeria is to the south of France. Moens holds<sup>20</sup> that *Tch'e-tou* is the same as the Raktamṛttika of a fifth century inscription from province Wellesley and locates it in ancient Patalung near modern Sengora where the red colour of the soil and red sandstone hillocks have been noticed by modern travellers. The location of the Raktamṛttika of the inscription is not beyond dispute, and it has been held<sup>21</sup> on good ground that this place must have been in India. We see

15 BEFEO., iv, pp. 271-2.

16 Loc. cit. p. 272.

17 Op. cit. p. 349.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 344.

19 BEFEO., iv, pp. 273 and 284-5.

20 Op. cit. p. 344, cf. also p. 391 and n 1.

21 H-J.G., p. 76.

then how uncertain the whole matter is; Chö-p'o=Malaka (Moens) has no more in its favour than Chö-p'o=Java (Pelliot).

Now Moens sets forth some new arguments in favour of his position. First, he seeks to demonstrate that Chö-p'o and Kie-tch'a represent one and the same town.<sup>22</sup> He points out that Ho-ling is also called Chö-p'o in the New T'ang Annals, which state at the same time that the kings of Ho-ling lived in the city of Chö-p'o. After observing that the name of the country and its capital seem to have changed places and that chroniclers were still under the influence of traditional name Yāva=Chö-p'o—statements which seem to have no direct bearing on the argument,—Moens asserts: "I-tsing, who personally visited the capital and the country, speaks no more of Chö-p'o in the seventh century, and just calls the land Ho-ling; he designates the capital by its native name Kie-tch'a. As place-names Chö-p'o and Kie-tch'a represent one and the same town." He gives no specific references to I-tsing to support these statements. But I-tsing speaks more often of the country of Kie-tch'a—*pays de Kié-tch'a*,<sup>23</sup> *royaume de Kié-tch'a*,<sup>24</sup> and clearly distinguishes it from the land of Ho-ling in one context where he writes:<sup>25</sup> 'He left the land of the Three Rivers (China). He set sail at his ease from Chang-King; he was tossed about on the waves to the north of Ho-ling. He travelled over all the islands successively and reached by degrees the isle of Kie-tch'a'. Kie-tch'a and Chö-po (Ho-ling) cannot therefore be accepted as alternative names of one and the same city. It is perhaps worth noting, however, that Moens grants that I-tsing's Ho-ling is the same as the Chö-p'o of the older accounts, and if this be so, the passage I have cited from I-tsing goes some way towards suggesting the equation of Chö-p'o=Ho-ling=Java.

22 Op. cit. p. 350.

23 *Relig. Eminentis*, pp. 105, 114.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 125.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 157-8.

The boundaries of Ho-ling described in the Old and New T'ang Annals are then examined by Moens for support for his position (Ho-ling) Chö-p'o=Malaka. These boundaries are: P'o-li in the east, T'o-p'o-teng on the west, the sea on the south, and Tchen-la on the north. Moens<sup>26</sup> applies a correction of 45° to the orientation of these boundaries and understands West for instance to mean north-west. For him therefore the sea on the south of Ho-ling is the Strait of Malaka. All this would be so, if Ho-ling were established to be Malaka on other grounds. As it is, I am not sure if Moens is not begging the question. And the arguments he adduces afresh in his elucidation of these boundaries are just those very phonetic resemblances, the pursuit of which Moens condemns in his predecessors. There is one difference however; the earlier writers studied resemblances between names given by the Chinese authors and known modern names; Moens improves upon them by postulating earlier forms of native names from which the Chinese transcriptions might have been derived. It is thus that he reconstructs the form 'Dua wwatan', 'two bridges-land', to represent the obscure T'o-p'o-teng; but of the fact that such a name was ever used, he has no evidence to adduce. He has to rest content with pointing to the several routes along which small craft are transported overland across the narrowest part of the Isthmus of Krā, and the advantages to trade from such transshipment. One point more. The western, *i.e.*, north-western, neighbour of this land is called Mi-li-tchö, which, says Moens, 'seems to be clearly a transcription of the even now important port-city of Mergui, well known for its fine pearls from early times'. I am not a sinologist, and I can express no opinion on this; but I confess that from Mergui to Mi-li-tcho, or vice-versa, seems to be a rather large leap. Lastly, I-tsing locates Ho-ling to the south of Pan-pan at the Bay of Bandon, and this points to Malaka being Ho-ling. The passage of I-tsing<sup>27</sup> referred to here reads: "He (Tan-

26 pp. 350-52.

27 *Rel. Eminentis*, pp. 77-8.

juen) embarked and travelled to the south with the hope of reaching western India. But when he reached the country of Pou-p'en, to the north of Ho-ling, he fell ill and died." I am willing to assume with Moens that the place-name transcribed as Pou-p'en by Chavannes is the same as Pan-pan; but how does it follow from this that Ho-ling is not Java but Malaka? Moens, it must be noted, admits that Cambodge (Tchen-la) is to the north of his Ho-lin (Malaka), the intervening sea notwithstanding. Even if Ho-ling were Java, Pan-pan would still lie to the north of it, as much as Tchen-la.

Kia Tan, a Chinese geographer of the late eighth century, says that Ho-ling lies to the east of Fo-che (Śrīvijaya) at a distance of four or five days' journey, and this cuts against Ho-ling being placed in Malaka. But Moens is so convinced of the correctness of his view that he proposes to correct the word 'east' into 'west' in Kia Tan's text, on the ground that Kia Tan journeying towards Ceylon must have travelled west and reached Ho-ling *en route*. Now, a perusal of Kia Tan's text would show that he was not describing an actual journey at all, but only giving sailing directions, as it were. Here are his words:<sup>28</sup> From north to south it (the Straits of Malaka) is a hundred *li*. On its north coast is the kingdom of Lo-yue; on the southern coast, the kingdom of Fo-che. To the east of the kingdom of Fo-che, going by water for four or five days, we reach the kingdom of Ho-ling; it is the largest of the isles of the south. Then, towards the west, coming out of the straits, after three or four days we reach the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-tche, situated on an isle separated from Fo-che at the north-west angle.' This passage of Kia Tan upsets the pet notions of Moens: it discredits directly the alteration in the text proposed by Moens; it shows that the correct directions of the relative positions of places were known to Kia Tan, and casts a doubt on Moens' correction of directions in Chinese accounts; finally it overthrows completely the proposed identi-



fication of Chö-p'o (Ho-ling) with Malaka. Again I-tsing mentions Ho-ling as a halt from which pilgrims to India started for Malāyu on their journey to India from China; and Moens argues from this that Ho-ling was either a place on the east coast of Malaka or Malaka itself.<sup>29</sup> But this need not be so at all, and I-tsing's statement is quite intelligible if Ho-ling were Java. And as Krom has pointed out pilgrims touched at either Ho-ling or Fo-che, *i.e.*, Java or Śrīvijaya, before going to Malāyu, and there is no instance of both Ho-ling and Śrīvijaya being taken on the way,<sup>30</sup> which again is quite intelligible in the face of Kia Tan's statement discussed above, that Ho-ling was at a distance of four or five days' journey to the east of Fo-che.

#### IV

Turning them to a discussion of the location of P'o-li said to lie to the east of Ho-ling, Moens makes a strenuous effort to find support here for his identification of Ho-ling with Malaka. P'o-li was also called Ma-li according to the T'ang annals, and Schlegel thought this was really Ma-li-yeou, *i.e.*, Malāyu. But as Moens rightly points out I-tsing mentions Malāyu and P'o-li as separate states. Moens' own opinion is that the data regarding P'o-li as we have them are the result of a confusion on the part of Chinese authors between two different places of the same name, and yet another place, and he seeks to unravel the confusion in his own way; but it is needless for us to follow the details of this part of his discussion; for there is nothing in it to prevail against the clear argument based on the 'perfect phonetic concordance' (Pelliot)<sup>31</sup> between P'o-li and Bali, and the statements that Ho-ling is to the east of Fo-che (Kia Tan) and that P'o-li is to the east of Ho-ling. Moreover, Moens' conclusion that P'o-li must be sought to the south-east of Malaka—which is

<sup>29</sup> p. 353.

<sup>30</sup> *Die Heligdommen* p. 22 (418).

<sup>31</sup> BEFEO, iv, p. 285.

how he interprets east of Ho-ling—and thus either in S. Sumatra or still further east in Java does not rest on any tangible reasons. The Buddhist remains at Palembang or the Sailendra relics of Java cited by Moens in support of his position do not bear on this discussion; for according to Moens' there was a Buddhist P'o-li in the sixth century, but not in the seventh.<sup>32</sup>

Other arguments urged by Moens are equally inconclusive. Take the statements in the Leang annals on P'o-li; "The kingdom of P'o-li is situated to the south-east of Canton, on an island in the sea; the distance from Canton is two months, travelling daily. From east to west the country is fifty days broad, and from north to south it is twenty days; there are one hundred and thirty-six villages in it."<sup>33</sup> Moens remarks that according to the orientation of old Chinese maps, S. Sumatra would be south-east of Canton, and adds: "Ma-li appears further to be about twice as long as broad which well agrees with the form of south and middle Sumatra together."<sup>34</sup> The real truth is that the data regarding P'o-li or Ma-li are such that no identification can be proposed to satisfy them all; and it is no wonder that, as Moens has pointed out himself, scholars have ranged over all the lands from Borneo to Mālabar in vain to discover this elusive country. Again he argues that in Souei times, the Chinese had no idea of the general formation of Java, and that even in the T'ang period they might have believed it to be part of a great continent stretching right up to Africa. And as P'o-li which had an extent of many thousand *li*-s from north to south sent an embassy to China in 630 A.D., the period of the Tuk Mas inscription from middle Java, therefore, this seventh century non-Buddhist P'o-li must have lain in Middle Java. Ma-li, the Buddhist P'o-li (sixth century) being South Sumatra and P'o-li Middle Java, neither of the P'o-lis could be Bali.<sup>35</sup> The many

32 p. 358.

33 Grœnveldt—notes, p. 203.

34 p. 359.

35 p. 360.

fallacies lurking behind each stage of such an argumentation will not escape the reader.

The capital of Middle-Javanese P'o-li is sought by Moens in the modern district centre of Pati near the northern coast of Middle Java, but one looks in vain for any tangible reason for this view. If there was a Middle Javanese P'o-li and Pati was its capital in the seventh century, then the plausible geographical considerations by which Moens seeks to show that it might have been once a good harbour will have some value as strengthening an intrinsically probable position;<sup>36</sup> but neither the height of Gunung Muria nor the silting up of the Lusi river mouth can by themselves establish the locale of the kingdom or its capital. And his account of the historical origin of Middle Javanese P'o-li only shows how strongly he has prejudged the question on its geographical side. He accepts the doubtful suggestion that Ma-li is Malāyu, and argues that the dynasty of Malāyu went over to Middle Java when it was driven out about 683 A.D. by the successful naval expedition of Śrīvijaya. Perhaps there is nothing impossible in this suggestion though so far it lacks anything of the nature of positive evidence. But then Moens seems to forget the non-Buddhist character of Middle-Javanese P'o-li of the seventh century on which he laid some stress earlier in his paper,<sup>37</sup> and now treats it as a Buddhist kingdom of the Śailendras. And his attempt to connect Kaunḍinya of the sixth century P'o-li (Leang annals) with Kandara of the Andhra country<sup>38</sup> is totally misplaced. Kaunḍinya is a gotra-name and the Kandaras who belonged to the Ananda gotra could not have had anything to do with them. Again, Moens puts forward a vague suggestion of some connection between the Kandaras and Kadambas, probably because Jayaswal's evidence relating to the Kaunḍinyas of South India places them only in Kadamba country, and the Kandaras

<sup>36</sup> pp. 363-4.

<sup>37</sup> P. 359.

<sup>38</sup> pp. 435-6.

were ruling in Andhra territory. Moens says: "Of the Kandara dynasty alas! little is known besides that they ruled in about the same territory as the Ikṣvākus of the second and third century. These last had their capital in Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the original Śrīparvata or Śrīśaila on the southern bank of the Kṛṣṇā, not far from the later mountain bearing a like name and connected with the Kadambas." It comes to this. Because the Kandaras ruled the land of the Ikṣvākus who had their capital at Śrīparvata, and Śrīparvata is the name of another mountain of the Kadambas, and because the Kaundinyas are known to have been in Kadamba country, therefore Kandaras were Kaundinyas! An argument in itself so weak as this gains no strength from the references made by Moens to the attack of Viṣṇukuṇḍins on the Kandaras about 500 A.D. as furnishing the motive for the migration of the Kandaras (Kaundinyas) to the Archipelago, or to the great stone Buddha of Bukit Seguntang as further proof of this proposition.<sup>39</sup> To seek to connect Borobudur with Śrīśaila and thus point to this mountain as the home of the Śailendras is even less plausible. The connection between the Andhra country and the Archipelago has never been in dispute; but we are not convinced that Moens' researches have brought any valid elucidation of the time and circumstance of this connection.<sup>40</sup>

39 pp. 436-7.

40 In my paper on *Kataha* (JGIS., July 1938) I have discussed at some length the considerations brought forward by Moens in favour of an Āndhra-Kaliṅga origin of the Śailendras. I may here add that Moens does not seem to have quite decided between an Āndhra and a Kaliṅga home for the Śailendras, and secondly between treating the Middle Javan P'o-li as non-Buddhist kingdom and treating as the Buddhist Śailendra kingdom displaced from Sumatra and migrating to Java as a result of Śrīvijaya's conquest of Malāyu in 683 A.D. Of the presence of Śailendras anywhere before 778 A.D. (Kalasan inscription) we have in fact as yet no evidence whatever.

## V

Another kingdom mentioned in the Chinese annals is Kin-li-pi-che to the south-west of Canton.<sup>41</sup> Pelliot is inclined to see in this name only a faulty form of Che-li-fo-che, Moens, on the other hand, corrects the direction from S.W. to S.E. and locates the kingdom in the N.E. part of Borneo.<sup>42</sup> Again we have Tchou-po mentioned in the third century which is most probably the same as Tou-po of the Souei annals. This kingdom is placed in the China sea to the east of Fu-nan at a distance several tens of days' sailing. There were several kings on the island with capitals of their own. With many reservations, but in almost entire disregard of the distinct geographical indications, Pelliot proposed to identify this land with Chö-p'o (Java). Accepting a suggestion of Pelliot that the name Tchou-po had a guttural ending in its ancient pronunciation, Moens identifies it with Tabouk, the old name of Kota Batu, the largest city in Mindanac,<sup>43</sup> which satisfies the geographical requirements very well indeed. These two identifications are valuable as definitely extending the area of Hindu colonisation, and one hopes that these conclusions of Moens will be further strengthened by the progress of research. But it will be seen that these questions have no bearing on the location of Chö-p'o itself. Yet other identifications incidentally proposed by Moens, but having no direct bearing on the question of Chö-p'o are the following:

Lo-t'cha—either Moluccas or better, the island group between Celebes and New Guinea, Mindanao and probably north Celebes included.<sup>44</sup>

Kin-fo, same as *Kin-li-fo-che* (cf. Na-sien from Nagasena), and therefore, as noted already on the N.W. coast of Borneo.<sup>45</sup>

Kingdom of Women (Strirājya) is Celebes.<sup>46</sup>

41 BEFEO, iv. pp. 324-5.

43 pp. 365-8.

45 p. 373.

42 p. 365.

44 p. 371.

46 *Ibid.*

K'ouen-louen means the islands to the east of the Celebes, the eastern part of the Archipelago; the land where, as I-tsing notes, the Clepsydra was in use as also the Sanskrit sūtras and the rules of grammar in the seventh century A.D.<sup>47</sup>

## VI

Next Moens sets out to establish the identity of the capital of Ho-ling (Chö-p'o) itself called Chö-p'o in the T'ang annals, with modern Kedah or some place in its neighbourhood. His first, and perhaps the strongest argument, in favour of this identification is the statement in the T'ang annals relating to the town of Chö-p'o, viz.: "When at the summer-solstice a gnomon is erected of eight feet high, the shadow (at noon) falls on the south side and is two feet four inches long."<sup>48</sup> This implies certainly a locality somewhere between 6° and 6° 30' N.L., which must lie on the eastern or western coast of Malaka. 'If in I-tsing's time *Kié-tch'a* (Kedah) was the capital and might thus be equated to Chö-p'o, the astronomical datum relating to which has been given above, then the geographical location at 6° to 6° 30' N.L. should fit in very well and it would also be established that Chö-p'o lay on the west coast of Malaka."<sup>49</sup> But note the 'if' on which the argument rests; there is no evidence to show that *Kié-tch'a* was the capital of Ho-ling in I-tsing's time. Nay more, the references of I-tsing to these two places indicate clearly that they had no connection with each other and were places lying rather far apart. What he says of the pilgrim Fa-tchen is perhaps worth citing again in Chavannes' words: 'il sortit du pays des Trois flueves—II hissa la voile au large de *Chang-king*;—il fut ballotté sur les flots au nord de Ho-ling—Ii parcourut successivement toutes les îles et arriva petit à petit 'a celle de *Kié-tch'a*.'<sup>50</sup> No wonder Pelliot felt that the astronomical datum of the T'ang

47 PP. 374-5

49 P. 376.

48 Notes, p. 139.

50 *Religieux Eminents*, pp. 157-8.

annals regarding the capital of Ho-ling was difficult to reconcile with the other data we possess regarding it, and suggested that we must assume some mistake to have crept into the astronomical datum.<sup>51</sup>

The other arguments adduced by Moens in favour of Kēdah being identified with Chō-p'o are much less decisive. He takes up the account of a journey from Mi-t'chen to Chō-p'o translated by Pelliot from *Sin t'ang chou*, and seeks to find support in this account for his position. Though Moens does not accept Pelliot's identifications of Mi-tch'en with Irawadi delta or of Chō-p'o with Java, he agrees with him that the general direction of the journey was towards the south.<sup>52</sup> This passage is of sufficient interest for us to reproduce it here before reviewing its discussion by Moens. I translate from Pelliot.

"From Mi-tch'en we reach K'ouen-lang, and here is the tribe of the Little Kouen-louen; the king is called Mang-si-yue; the customs are the same as at Mi-tch'en. From K'ouen-lang, one goes to Lou-yu, where lies the kingdom of the king of the Great K'ouen-louen. The king is called Sseu-li-po-p'o-nan-to-chau-na (Śrībhavānandēśāna?). The plain is more extensive than that at Mi-tch'en. Travelling for half a day from the place where the little king of the K'ouen-louen lives (*sic*), we reach the bounds of Mo-ti-p'o (Martaban?). Going by sea for five months ('months' is doubtless an error for 'days'), we reach the kingdom of Fo-tai, and here is the branch of a stream which flows for 360 *li*. The king is called Sseu-li-p'i-li-jouei. The country produces many rare perfumes. To the north, there is an emporium which is the rendezvous of merchantmen from divers kingdoms. If we cross the sea, we reach Chō-p'o (Java). Travelling for fifteen days, you pass two large mountains, one of them called Tcheng-mi and the other Chō-t'i.

51 BEFEO., iv, pp. 293-5.

52 p. 376: BEFEO, iv, p. 225.



There is a kingdom the king of which is called Sseu-li-moho-lo-chö (Śrī Mahārāja). The customs are the same as at Fo-tai. Cross the valley of To-jong-pou-lo (Tajong-pura?) and you reach Chö-p'o (Java); then, after a journey of eight days, you reach the kingdom of P'o-houei-kia-lou. The country is warm; at the cross roads and on the roads they have planted cocoanut and areca palms; if you raise your head, you would not see the sun. At the residence of the king, the tiles are of gold, the kitchens being covered with tiles of silver. Fragrant wood is burnt here. The halls are decorated with shining pearls. There are two tanks with golden banks; the cars of boats are covered gold and gems."<sup>53</sup>

The emendations that Moens proposes to this itinerary seem to me to be based on a preconceived scheme of identifications, particularly on his own views regarding Chö-p'o. The very first observation he makes on this text is enough to show this. He says that the name Chö-po where it first occurs in the above extract is clearly a mistake (*Klaarblijkelijk een verschriving*), for both the kingdom of Chö-p'o and its capital Chö-p'o are reached later on in the same narrative after a further journey of two weeks southwards. He suggests that it is most probable that a return to the continental coast, the point from which the sea-voyage to Fo-tai began, *viz.*, Mo-ti-po, is meant; the journey to Fo-tai and the emporium in the north of Sumatra being no more than an excursion which took the traveller out of the main line of his route.<sup>54</sup> But read the passage again, and it becomes clear that the first mention of Chö-po is no more than a preliminary indication of the end of the voyage from Fo-tai, the details of which follow in the next succeeding sentences. There seems to be no warrant whatsoever for supposing a return to Mo-ti-po, a postulate which in turn leads Moens to suggest further: (1) that Mo-ti-po was not Martaban as Pelliot holds, but some place in the neighbourhood of Ta-kua-pa,—for it

<sup>53</sup> BEFEO, iv, pp. 223-4.

<sup>54</sup> pp. 378 and 382.

sounds manifestly absurd to suggest that a person went back from N. Sumatra (Fo-tai) to Martaban on his way to Malaka (or Java); and (2) that the half-day's sailing from Lou-yu to Mo-ti-po is really a mistake for half-a-month's sailing—a suggestion for which support is found in Pelliot's emendation of month into day in another context in the same extract.<sup>55</sup>

Next, accepting Pelliot's identification of P'o-houei-Kia-sseu with P'o-lou-Kia-sseu to which the kings of Ho-ling migrated from a more western capital, Moens makes two suggestions: (1) that the movement from west to east must really be from north to south, a correction necessitated according to him by the Chinese orientation of Malaka and (2) Baruas on Malaka's west coast furnishes an acceptable phonetic parallel to P'o-lou-kia-sseu, adding that Baruas must have sounded like the famous Bhārukaccha and have been transcribed similarly. Both these suggestions appear to me to be of doubtful validity, and the appeal to local tradition and the silting of the mouths of the mighty Perak river to explain the ancient importance as a harbour of what is now an inland village does not bring much strength to an intrinsically weak case.<sup>56</sup>

Moens continues his argument in these words: 'From the foregoing it is clear, seeing that both Takuapa or Mo-ti-p'o and Baruas are places on the west coast, the whole journey *via.*, Chö-p'o is made along the coast,<sup>57</sup> in other words, that the capital Chö-p'o must have lain on Malaka's west coast, and this gives the answer also to the question stated earlier of the situation of (the kingdom of) Chö-p'o.' I confess my inability to follow this statement. The first part of it proves nothing; a journey from Burma to Chö-p'o, whether Chö-p'o be Java or Malaka, must be made along

55 pp. 377-8.

56 pp. 382-4.

57 In a note Moens explains that a crossing from Takuapa first to the east coast and voyage from there back to Baruas on the west coast would have involved a much longer journey (than one of 8 days)!

the west coast of Malaka; you could say that the whole journey must have been along that coast only by assuming that Chö-p'o is not Java, but Malaka, which is just what Moens does; and that after correcting the first Chö-po in the T'ang annals account of the journey to Mo-ti-p'o! After this he finds the capital Chö-p'o in Kědah relying to some extent on I-tsing's statements regarding Kie-tch'a and for the rest on the astronomical datum, both already discussed.

Some other considerations are also urged by Moens in support of the Kědah site for the capital of Chö-p'o. They are: (1) The valley of To-jong-pou-lo which must be crossed to reach Chö-p'o according to the T'ang annals may be found in the valley of the Sai Buri (the Siamese name of the Kědah river), Sai Buri (Siamese) being an acceptable (aanvaardbaar) translation of the Malay Tanjongpura. (2) Of the two large mountains mentioned earlier in the journey, Tcheng-mi and Cho-ti, the second name is recognised by Moens in Bukit (Putri) Yatee to the north of Kědah. (3) Lastly, the district of Lang-pi-ya where the king of Chö-p'o frequently went according to the New T'ang annals, to look at the sea, may be recognised in the land of the Rambai rising in the hills to the east of Kědah, and Rambai, says Moens, 'is a passable phonetic equivalent of Lang-pi-ya.' All these agreements between modern names in this locality and those recorded by the Chinese centuries ago seem to be more than merely accidental (meer dan toevallig schint). We agree, though in a different sense from that of Moens.

## VII

The oldest Chö-p'o is, according to Moens, identical with Fa-hien's Ye-p'o-ti, a correct transcription of Yāva-dvīpa. The usual identification of Yāvadvīpa with Java rests on a current misinterpretation of the Canggal inscription of Sañjaya of Ś. 654 (A.D. 732). Of this inscription Moens says: 'In it Yāvadvīpa is mentioned not as though

Sañjaya was there when he founded the *līṅga*-temple on the Wukir and set up the inscription in commemoration of the fact, but as the place where his family played a part before his migration to Java.<sup>58</sup> He lays stress on the expression *āsīd-dvīparam* of stanza 7, and says that it refers to Yāvadvīpa of old (*van weleer*), the same as is found mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa. He continues: "There (in Chō-p'o) was (in the 7th century) the miraculous temple of Śambhu. In fact, that Śiva temple is not the *līṅga*-temple of the Wukir, and Krom wondered if it was! It stood however not elsewhere in Java as this scholar thought, but on Yāvadvīpa. The eighth and ninth strophe continue that it was on that boasted island Yāva that Sannaha reigned and died. There was it too that Sañjaya followed him (st. 10) and not on Java. There was it (st. 12) that 'people slept on the royal road without fear of robbers or other danger.' The safety there was (naturally) so great as at Chō-p'o, when in 674 A.D. Queen Sima (according to the New T'ang Annals) reigned and where 'even things dropped on the road were not taken up'."<sup>59</sup>

The last remark about Chō-p'o is nothing to the point. It cannot settle the question whether Malaka or Java is the original Chō-p'o (Yāvadvīpa), and it will apply to whichever land we take to be this. If anything, the similarity between the twelfth verse of the inscription found in Java and the Chinese account of Sima's reign will raise a presumption that both refer to the island, and no other place, and this is the usual view Moens seeks to demolish.

The main question, however, is whether Moens' contention that the 'Yāvadvīpa of old' was some land other than that of the *līṅga*-temple of Wukir has any substance in it. I think it has none. The past tense form of *āsīd* (in verse 7) on which Moens lays so much stress has always attracted the attention of scholars; but Moen himself ignores the present tense forms of *pāti* applied to Sannaha in verse

8, *bhramati* to the world on the occasion of his death in verse 9, *udbhavati* and *śāsti* to Sañjaya himself in verses 10 and 11.

Why the poet preferred the form *āsīt* when *asti* would have served his purpose in every way, Kern said he did not know;<sup>60</sup> and we are in no better position. But of the migration of Sañjaya or of his father, or of the transfer of their power from one centre to another, there is not a word in the inscription. And the history which Moens invents for supporting this hypothesis has no support outside his own imagination. He suggests that the elliptical passage *tadamarai...dinopārjita* (verse 7) contains a euphemistic reference to Sañjaya being dispossessed of his original territory; he also suggests that the account of Sañjaya's exploits in the Carita Parahyangan should be taken to mean that 'Sañjaya undertook his campaigns from Chō-p'o and when in the end he had the worst of it, he fled to Java';<sup>61</sup> neither of these suggestions can be accepted, and in the Carita Parahyangan the career of Sañjaya is marked by striking victories everywhere and Śrīvijaya suffers defeat at his hands, and not the other way round as Moens wants us to suppose. Further, the Carita starts Sañjaya on his conquering career from Galoch just as it makes him return to the same place at the end of his campaigns.<sup>62</sup>

Analysing Fa-hien's account of his ill-starred journey from Ceylon to China, Moens argues that he might have touched on the west coast of Malaka, crossed over to the east coast by one of the land routes across the isthmus commonly used at the time, and sailed again from the east coast of the peninsula. He admits that no positive evidence emerges from Fa-hien's detailed account to show that Ye-p'o-ti represents Malaka, but, he adds, 'certainly there is no reason to infer with any greater probability that he

60 VG. vii, p. 122, n. 2.

62 TBG, LIX, p. 417.

61 p. 388.

travelled throughout Java.<sup>63</sup> That is a fair statement of the case, and we are content to leave it thus, only pointing out that other students of Fa-hien's travels, witness the map in Giles' *Travels of Fa-Hsien*, have understood Fa-hien's account to mean an all sea route broken by a five months' sojourn at Java.

It is unnecessary to discuss here the location of the fifth century Kelatan (Ho-lo-tan) and Tch'e-t'ou of the sixth century from which Moens seeks support for Yāvadvīpa being considered the same as Chō-p'o and Malaka; these matters have been dealt with earlier. But one statement of Moens connected with his plausible suggestion that the usual route to China from India lay across the neck of the Malay peninsula deserves some attention. He says: "Possibly Fa-Hien passed *via*. Ligor and Guṇavarman *via*. Kēḍah; the first came across few men of the faith (*hīnayānists*) and many heretical Brahmans,<sup>64</sup> the second travelled by a purely Buddhist town, a contrast not to be expected to have come about in a short span of ten years, if the descriptions of the two monks referred to one and the same place." This apparently strong argument totally ignores the fact that all the accounts we have of Guṇavarman ascribe to him the credit of converting to Buddhism the land of his sojourn before his departure from it for China. Moens' geography seems to exert a rather powerful influence on his history.

It is needless to follow Moens' speculations on the identity of Ptolemy's Iabadiou with Malaka, and of his Argyrè with Ligor, for they rest primarily on the assumption that Yāvadvīpa is Malaka (Ye-p'o-ti). The mention of gold among the products of this land by Ptolemy, the Rāmāyaṇa and other sources is taken to point to Sumatra or Malaka, but not Java; as Krom has pointed out,<sup>65</sup> this argument is

63 p. 391.

64 Most unwarrantably as it seems to me Moens takes this expression to include Parsis and Śaivites (p. 396).

65 *H-J.G.*, pp. 58 ff.

not so formidable as it looks, for in the Canggal inscription found in Java the island is said to be rich in gold, so that, rightly or wrongly, Java had this reputation; again the *Yāvadvīpa* would likewise be unaccountable, for *yava* does not grow either in Sumatra or in Java.



## Recent Advances in Kambuja Studies

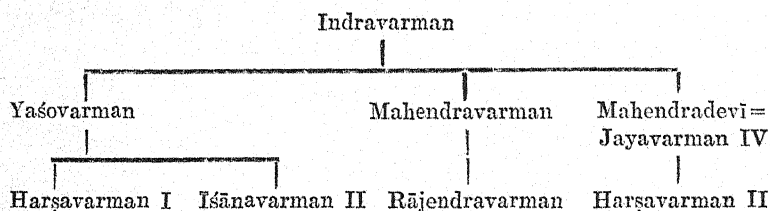
By B. R. Chatterjee

[Concluded from *JGIS.*, VI, 2]

After the reign of Jayavarman III (854-877) the son and successor of Jayavarman II, a new dynasty rose to power. The founder of this dynasty, Indravarman (877-889) was only distantly related to Jayavarman II through his wife. The most illustrious sovereign of this dynasty is Yaśovarman (889-910), the son and successor of Indravarman, who has celebrated his name in many inscriptions and in his new capital—Yaśodharapura, the famous Angkor Thom (Nagara Dhāma). The most noteworthy of his inscriptions are digraphic, *i.e.*, they give the same text in two scripts, South Indian (Pallava—the usual script of Cambodian epigraphy) and North Indian (somewhat akin to Bengali). These inscriptions show an intimate knowledge of Sanskrit literature. In the inscription of the High Priests of Deva Rāja we find that Yaśovarman constructed the Central Mount as the shrine of that tutelary deity of the realm. Till recently the Central Mount (called central because it was in the centre of the city) was supposed to be the great tower of the Bayon, the great temple which dominates Angkor Thom today, about which scholars gave their opinion that it was commenced as a Buddhist shrine by Jayavarman II and finished as a Śiva temple by Yaśovarman. This Central Mount has now been identified by M. Goloubew with the Śiva temple crowning the wooded hill Phnom Bakhen near the southern gate of the present Angkor Thom. This identification was based on the fact that Phnom Bakhen marks the exact centre of a rectangle covering an area of 16 kilometres and bounded on the west and north by broad ditches which have now been turned into rice fields, while the eastern side follows a line parallel with the Siem-reap river which has been deflected from its natural course to form a sort of moat. Later excavations

in 1931-32 have revealed the fact that the hill of Phnom Bakhen is surrounded by numerous water-reservoirs. Their symmetrical arrangement confirms the existence in former times of axial causeways starting from the foot of the hill and running in the four directions as one would expect in the case of a Central Mount. On the north side too traces of a ditch faced with stone have been discovered together with remnants of bridges.

This dynasty came to close with Īśānavarman II, the second son of Yaśovarman. The crown passed on to another stranger, Jayavarman IV (928-942 A.C.) whose only claim to the throne was perhaps through his wife—a sister of Yaśovarman. He might have been proclaimed king in the life-time of his nephew as some inscriptions of his temporary capital Koh-ker would make his reign begin from 921, not 928 A.D. His queen, whose name was Mahendradevī, had a son by a previous marriage, and this son Rājendrarvarman (944-968 A.D.) succeeded to the throne after his half-brother Harṣavarman II (942-944 A.D.)



Towards the close of the 10th century, in the reign of Jayavarman V (968-1001) the son and successor of Rājendrarvarman, Mahāyāna Buddhism grows in importance in Kambuja. The minister of this monarch brought from foreign lands a large number of Mahāyāna texts. The Hema-śrīṅga-giri, identified with Ta Kev is tentatively assigned to the reign of Jayavarman V by M. Qœdès. This girl was according to an inscription of Jayavarman V, the seat of the Inspector of Qualities and Defaults. The next reign was abruptly brought to an end by another dynastic revolution in 1002. Sūryavarman I (1002-1049) who seized the throne by force of arms, was not a direct descendant of his imme-

diate predecessors Jayavarman V and Udayādityavarman I. From some Pali chronicles of Laos M. Çœdès derives the information that king Jivaka of Nagara Śrī Dharma Rāja (Ligor in the Malay Peninsula) had conquered considerable portions of Siam and that the son of king Jivaka became king of Kambuja. By comparing dates M. Çœdès comes to the conclusion that the son of the king of Śrī Dharma Rāja who had become king of Kambuja could be no other than Sūryavarman I in whose reign Dvāravatī (Siam) was annexed to Cambodia. Nagara Śrī Dharma Rāja was a centre of Buddhism in the Malay Peninsula and the new ruler of Kambuja (Sūryavarman I) was a fervent Buddhist as his posthumous name of Nirvāṇapada clearly indicates. He also introduced among the royal titles the Malay title of Tuan (Lord). Phimanakas (Akasa Vimana sky-lower of the Silpa Śāstras) was built during his reign. It was supposed that Jayavīravarman was an earlier name of Sūryavarman I. It now appears that Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman I were two rival kings of Kambuja in the same period—Sūryavarman in the long run getting the better of his rival.

During the reign of his successor Udayādityavarman II the last monarch mentioned in the inscription of the High Priests which covers the period from Jayavarman II to this reign (latter part of eighth century to the middle of eleventh century), was built the Baphuon—one of the gems of Khmer architecture. According to M. Çœdès, Baphuon may be the corrupt form of Brah (or Vrah—great) Bhuvana. Its full name may have been Vrah Bhuvana Tilaka—Bhuvana-tilaka being a type of building mentioned in the Silpa Śāstras. M. Çœdès thinks that very probably Baphuon is identical with the Svarṇādri of the inscriptions. This Svarṇādri was the 'Copper Tower' which so much impressed Cheou Ta-kouan (the comparison of the Chinese envoy of Kublai Khan) who visited Cambodia towards the end of the 13th century.

Another dynastic change took place towards the end of the 11th century A.D. Jayavarman VI seized the throne and for a short period there seems to have been two rival kings in Kambuja—Harṣavarman III and Jayavarman VI.

Sūryavarman II (1112-1152) of this dynasty of Mahidharapura was a great builder as well as a warlike monarch. The most famous temple of Cambodia, the Viṣṇu temple of Angkor Vat, was built during the reign of Sūryavarman II and completed by his successor. Several scholars are of the opinion that Angkor Vat (a comparatively recent name meaning 'Palace-Monastery') was originally a mausoleum finished immediately after Sūryavarman II's death. The fact that the entrance is on the west, they think, proves conclusively that it was a mausoleum. M. Çœdès, on the other hand, does not believe that Angkor Vat should be considered as essentially different from other Cambodian temples. He would rank it among that numerous class of Khmer,—Cham and Javanese temples in which, as is conclusively proved by epigraphical evidence, deceased rulers were worshipped under the aspect of divinities of the Brahmanical and Buddhist pantheon. Angkor Vat is a Buddhist monastery today. But it was not so in the beginning. The principal image in the central shrine has vanished, but a set of images of the *avatars* of Viṣṇu (Narasimha, Varāha, Matsya and Kūrmāvataras, etc.) still remains as vestiges of the original statutory of the great Viṣṇu temple. At Angkor Vat too has been discovered a sacred deposit (gold leaves) in the foundations right under the central sanctuary at the ground level of the surrounding country. Similar sacred deposits have been discovered at the Bayon and another shrine. M. Çœdès thinks that this arrangement is peculiar to the type of shrines which we may call 'temple-mountains' where the principal image was placed on the top of a stepped pyramid. All this confirms his belief that Angkor Vat should not be placed in a separate category and that it was a temple with the image of Sūryavarman II, representing Viṣṇu, as the presiding deity. Parama-Viṣṇuloka was the appropriate posthumous title of Sūryavarman II.

Jayavarman VII was the last of the great figures of Cambodian history. He too belonged to the dynasty of Mahidharapura. New light has been thrown on his early life by the recent researches of M. Çœdès on the Mahidhara-

pura dynasty. On the death of his father Dharaṇīndra-varman II it seems that Jayavarman for some reason or other could not obtain possession of the throne which passed to Yaśovarman II. Jayavarman had to live a life of exile in Campā (Annam), while his wife Jayarājadevī (the daughter of a Brahman) lived the life of an ascetic in Kambuja. We read in a badly damaged inscription of the *tapasyā* of the princess, of her emaciated limbs, of her tresses converted into *jaṭā* and the tears she shed for her absent lord. On hearing the news of a conspiracy against the king Jayavarman hurried back to Campā. But he arrived too late to save Yaśovarman II from the usurper Tribhuvanādityavarman (a *bhṛitya* or servant of the late king) who now seized the throne. Jayavarman quietly bided his time and the opportunity came when the king of Campā invaded Kambuja and slew the usurper (1177 A.D.)

Both Yaśovarman II and Tribhuvanādityavarman were not known hitherto as rulers of Cambodia. The only thing that we know about Yaśovarman II is that he must have belonged to the royal family, as he was faithfully served by the future Jayavarman VII and his son Śrīndrakumāra, and that he was attacked by a mysterious personage Bharata Rāhu, who is depicted in a bas-relief of Bantay Chmar with the demoniac features of the mythical Rāhu, and saved through the exertions of Śrīndrakumāra. Shortly afterwards he was deposed by an usurper who assumed the title of Tribhuvanādityavarman on seizing the throne. The bas-reliefs of the Bayon and Bantay Chmar promise light on this obscure period.

The vicissitudes of his life taught both Jayavarman VII and his queen Jayarājadevī a new outlook on life which is reflected in the inscriptions of this reign. One hundred and two hospitals (*ārogya-sālā*) were built in the different provinces and every year provisions and medicine were supplied to these hospitals from the royal magazines. In the hospital inscriptions the king proclaims: "It is the sufferings (of the subjects) of the state which make the kings suffer—not their own pain." These inscriptions are

ferverently Buddhist in tone and the king and the queen were both devoted adherents of Mahāyāna.

Jayavarman VII was also a great conqueror. Campā as well as Pegu were annexed by him to Kambuja. A large part of the Malay Peninsula also acknowledged his sway. Finally the great building activity of Jayavarman VII deserves special mention. The Bayon (Vaijayanta?), next to Angkor Vat, the greatest temple in Cambodia, is now attributed to him. It has been the subject of so much controversy of late that it is worthwhile giving some details about it.

The Bayon which adorns the centre of Angkor Thom was supposed all along to have been built by Yaśovarman in the ninth century A.D. In 1925 M. Finot discovered in the shrine images of Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) disfigured and carefully concealed. He believed that the Bayon was begun by Jayavarman II, who was supposed to be a Buddhist as Java, the place he came from, had been identified with Zabaj (Śrīvijaya) the stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In 1926 M. Philippe Stern announced that the Bayon, supposed to be the Central Mount of the inscriptions, could not have been the centre of Angkor Thom in Yaśovarman's reign. He assigned the Bayon to the reign of Sūryavarman I—the first Buddhist monarch of Kambuja (early 11th century). In 1928 the Sanskrit inscriptions placed at the corners of the city-wall of Angkor Thom were deciphered by M. Coëdès. He found that these inscriptions belonged to the reign of Jayavarman VII who is described as having constructed the high city ramparts and dug the deep moat round Yaśodharapurī. This must have been done after Yaśodharapurī (Angkor Thom) had been pillaged and partially destroyed by the Campā invaders in 1177 A.D. Now these city-walls and gates have many features in common with the architectural designs and ornamental work of the Bayon, Bantay Chmar, etc. The inscriptions on the walls of the Bayon and Bantay Chmar also belong to the reign of Jayavarman VII. Some bas-reliefs of Bantay Chmar and the Bayon have now been satisfactorily explained

as depicting incidents of Jayavarman VII's career. The discovery of a Yaśovarman II, one of the immediate predecessors of Jayavarman VII, from newly deciphered inscriptions as well as a bas-relief at Bantay Chmar, showing his rescue from Bharata Rāhu by Śrindarakumāra (the son of Jayavarman VII), obviates the necessity of dragging in the Yaśovarman I of the 9th century.

Then, from the point of view of the development of Kambuja art and architecture, archæologists have been doubting for some time the sequence in which scholars like Philippe Stern had wished to place the three principal monuments of Kambuja—Baphuon (close of the tenth century), the Bayon (beginning of the eleventh century—Sūryavarman I's reign), Angkor Vat (middle of the twelfth century). Why should Bayon with all its imperfections be placed between the two gems of Cambodian architecture? M. Coedès would attribute the imperfections of the Bayon not to precocity (as M. Finot had proposed to do) but to senility.

The Bayon enshrines the statues of many members of Jayavarman VII's family. Why should the greatest monarch of Cambodia put the statues of his family in a shrine built by a previous sovereign?

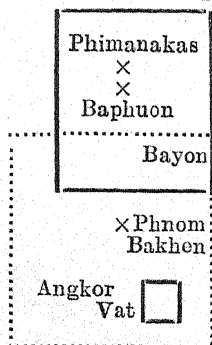
A bas-relief of the Bayon gives an almost exact representation of the towers of Angkor Vat. Ornamental stones of Baphuon have been used in building the Bayon.

Archæologists would now put the principal monuments of Cambodia in the following chronological order:—Baphuon (second half of the eleventh century—the Svarṇādri of Udayādityavarman II); Angkor Vat (middle of the twelfth century—reigns of Sūryavarman II and Dharaṇindravarman II); the Bayon (towards the end of the twelfth century—reign of Jayavarman VII).

Quite recently has been discovered in a pit under the central tower of the Bayon a large-sized image of the Buddha canopied by the hood of a polycephalous Nāga. It is twelve feet in height without the pedestal (fifteen feet with the pedestal). It is now certain that this image of the Buddha was the object of worship first



enshrined in the principal sanctuary of the Bayon. It is reckoned among the finest pieces of sculpture found in Cambodia. In the *Indian Art and Letters*, 1937, M. Paul Mus writes that this Buddha has been declared by M. Coedès to be a statue of Jayavarman VII deified as a Buddha. The great stone faces of the Bayon towers (about two hundred of them decorate the exterior of the royal temple of Jayavarman VII) are now interpreted as colossal portraits (in stone) of that great emperor representing Avalokiteśvara. The four faces on each tower mean facing in all directions,—omnipresent and omniscient, and Avalokiteśvara in the Lotus of the Good Law, the Mahāyāna text *par excellence*, is adored as omnipresent and omniscient—all the Buddhas being manifestations of his infinite mercy. Jayavarman VII, a pious and powerful Buddhist emperor, would naturally like to be regarded by posterity as a manifestation of this great Bodhisattva. A detailed study of the various portions of this monarch in the reliefs of Angkor Thom has led M. Coedès to the conclusion that it is Jayavarman VII himself, in the guise of Avalokiteśvara, who dominates the Bayon and the ruins of Angkor Thom of today.



Smaller rectangle—Jayavarman VII's Angkor Thom which we see to-day.

Larger rectangle (with dotted lines)—Yaśovarman's Angkor Thom which has mostly disappeared.

At this stage, when Kambuja under Jayavarman VII was at the pinnacle of her glory, let us take leave of the country. Soon after his death the Siamese would be knocking at its gates.

## Relation Between Indian and Indonesian Culture

By O. C. Gangoly

50972

The approximate date of the "colonisation" and the spread of Indian culture across the Indian Ocean has been the subject of keen debate amongst scholars. When the text of the *Arthaśāstra* was published, some scholars (Jacobi and others) suggested that a passage in that text distinctly recommended (as a piece of kingly obligation) the foundation of new places of habitation or colonies in already existing provinces by vomiting out inhabitants from one's own country in order to people new colonized tracts or by inviting the flow of foreigners into one's own countries ("Bhūta-pūrvam-abhūtapūrvam vā janapadam paradeśāpavāhanena svadeśābhiṣyandavamanena vā niveśayet", *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. I, 1, Janapada-niveśa). Louis Finot in an adroitly argued paper<sup>1</sup> contested this suggestion, that the passage in question could be taken to offer a direct testimony to the commencement of Indian culture in the neighbouring peninsula.<sup>2</sup> Finot's paper has not unfortunate-

<sup>1</sup> "Les origines de la colonisation Indienne" par Louis Finot, BEFEO, Tome XII, 1912, pp. 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Finot's views can be gathered from the following remarks: "That the Dekkhan was Brahmanised by this epoch (i.e. of Kauṭilya) one could admit; but Brahmanisation does not mean occupation, and it is to be believed that this country, all Brahmanised as it was, offered yet the vast spaces to interior colonisation. It is with that only, according to our opinion, that the *Arthaśāstra* occupies itself, because if it had in view establishments outside India, it could not omit to lay down particular rules for the solution of the many problems which were involved in the installation of a civilized minority in the midst of a barbarous population" (Tr. by the present writer).

ly attracted the attention of Indian scholars. About twenty-eight years have elapsed since the matter was debated. Since then, a large volume of records has been unearthed bearing on the origin and history of Indian culture in Burma, Malaya, Siam, Cambodia, Campā, Java, Sumatra and Borneo. Quaritch Wales' recent explorations in Malaya have also brought forward some archæological evidences to establish the fact that from very early times, Takkola (on the western coast of Malaya on the Bay of Bengal) and Tāmraliṅga (on the eastern coast of Malaya on the Bay of Bandon, later, the site of Nakon Śrī Thammarat) formed two important outposts through which Indian culture radiated and spread over to Cambodia, Siam, Campā and other parts of South-Eastern Asia.<sup>3</sup> In an illuminating geographical study<sup>4</sup> contributed by Sylvain Lévi, that great *savant* of Indology has been able to establish on data extracted from the texts of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahā-Niddesa*, and the *Bṛhat-kathā* that Indian merchants, navigators, and adventurers were familiar with the products of Burma and the Malaya Peninsula from very early times and that some parts of the trans-Gangetic Peninsula [e.g. Suvarṇakuṇḍya, Suvannakuṭa, Subannabhūmi (some parts of Burma), Takkolam, Tāmlin (Tāmraliṅgam), and Javam] were known to Indian authors from at least the first century of the Christian Era.<sup>5</sup> We may go a

3 H. G. Quaritch Wales: 'A Newly Explored Route of Ancient Indian Cultural Expansion,' *Indian Art and Letters*, IX, No. 1, 1925. Ibid., "Towards Angkor," 1938, Ch. X, pp. 147 ff.

4 "Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Bṛhatkathā," *Études Asiatiques* II, pp. 1-55.

5 "Au I<sup>er</sup> siècle lère, il est presque certain qu'un auteur écrivant dans l'Inde n'aurait pu dresser la liste des ports de l'Extrême-Orient telle que nous la lisons dans le Niddesa." \* \* \* "La date de cette liste, et par conséquent de l'ouvrage qui la contient, vient donc se placer entre la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle et la fin du III<sup>e</sup>." Ibid., p. 51. From

step further and claim that having regard to the fact that these Far Eastern ports and tracts bear Indian names, in fairly early texts, it may be reasonable to conclude that the "Indianization" of these tracts must have begun previous to the first century A.D. But the point we are concerned with here, is not so much the ancient chronology of the Indianization of the regions beyond the seas, as the nature of the relationship of the so-called "colonial" Indian culture with its parent stem. Generally speaking, it is usual to regard colonial cultures, as somewhat inferior to the parental culture in its place of origin,—on account of the fact that it is the second-rate men belonging to the surplus population that are usually sent abroad to people and develop distant colonies. And, as a rule, the colonized countries are scarcely regarded as strongholds, or significant points of expansion of parental culture on equal footing with the original sources.

To these general rules the expansion of Indian culture across the Indian Ocean offers a very significant exception. The pioneers who set out to plant the seeds of Indian culture, as well as those who permanently took up their abode in various cultural kingdoms of Greater India and developed Indian culture to a level of equal eminence with that of the mother-continent, were not worthless ne'er-do-wells, or second-rate men, who could be elbowed out of the Indian Continent to eke out a fortune, or seek a chance success abroad. The representatives of various clans of learned Brahmins (such as those of the Agastya-gotra, or the Kaundinya-gotra) who carried the torch of Indian religious culture to distant countries were, undoubtedly, worthy and very distinguished representatives, the finest types of Indian intellectual and spiritual giants. The

the above extracts it is clear that according to Sylvain Lévi, an author writing in India could not have prepared the list of the sea-ports of the Far East, such as we find in the *Niddesa*, before the first century A.D.

Kṣatriya Princes, probably some branch of the Pallava dynasty, who founded, built, and organized political kingdoms and culture-centres in various tracts of Cambodia (Fou-nan) were enterprising groups of typical Indian Princes of remarkable talent, industry, and organizing ability. The successive chains of Brahmin ministers who advised the Cambodian kings (e.g. Śiva-Kaivalya, Rudrācārya, Hiranyaruci, Īśāna-mūrti, Sadā-śiva, Śaṅkara-Paṇḍita, Divākara-Paṇḍita and a host of others) who advised and guided the polity, the military exploits, and the religious foundations of their *protégés*, were learned and wise men of remarkable talents and equipments. Likewise, the heroic types of Indian Princes (probably some branch of the Cālukya dynasty as suggested by their characteristic *virudas*, 'Uttuṅga-deva') who founded and developed glorious kingdoms in Java were brilliant men of sterling qualities of head and heart and were justly deified as Deva-rājas or 'Divine Kings' after their death. Similarly, the group of heroic Indian Princes of the Śailodbhava or Śailendra dynasty who founded the great oversea Empire of Śrī-Vijaya were personalities of exceptional talent and brilliance.

That Sanskrit learning was kept up at a high pitch of excellence and was understood and cultivated by a large number of people in Cambodia, Sumatra and Java is proved by numerous inscriptions in Sanskrit, the high literary merit of which excels the continental compositions and deserves high praise. Some of these inscriptions offer valuable data for the history of Sanskrit literature. Yaśovarman, king of Cambodia, and the builder of Angkor Thom, is said to have written a commentary on the Mahābhāṣya.<sup>6</sup> Valuable

6 Nāgendra-vaktra-ṣiṣa-duṣṭa-tayeṣu bhāṣyaṃ  
 Mohapradam pratipadam kila Śābdikānām/  
 Vyākhyāmṛiteṇa vadanendu-vinirgatena  
 Yasya prabodhakaram-eva punaḥ prayuktaṃ//

and rich collections of books were maintained in the "Pustakāśramas" or the 'Hermitages of Books' or Libraries. Endowments were provided for regular or periodical recitations of the Purāṇas and the Epics. That some cities in the colonies were specialized centres of some phases of Indian culture of greater importance than the continental centres may be illustrated from the fact that Atiśa (Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna), the great Buddhist Patriarch, had to reside for twelve years in Suvarṇadvīpa, then the headquarters of Mahāyāna Buddhism, in order to master the teachings of Ācārya Dharmakīrti, the High Priest of Suvarṇadvīpa. Some of the establishments in various parts of Greater India were important centres of Tantric cults, contributing new and original developments. The two separate and sectarian cults of Śiva and Buddha attained a happy fusion in the Śiva-Buddhist cult of Java. Burma<sup>7</sup> and Siam<sup>8</sup> have made original and distinguished contributions to Pāli Buddhism and to Buddhist Literature. In the spheres of architecture, sculpture, applied arts, and crafts, the Indian continent must have sent some of its greatest masters to the "colonies" in order to cater to the artistic needs and to carry out the architectural ambitions

[Śloka 13, (D) from the Stèle of Thnāl Baray, A. Bergaigne: *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Champa et du Cambodge* 2d fascicule, p. 305 (485).]

7 Mabel Bode (*The Pāli Literature of Burma*, 1909) has indicated the outlines of the rich literature of Buddhism developed in Burma. The Theras of Sagaing (e.g. Tilokaguru) appear to have taken the lead in Abhidhamma studies. The famous Pāli work of Burma, *Saddanīti*, composed by Thera Uttarajīva, when taken to Ceylon, was received with enthusiastic admiration and declared superior to any work of the kind written by previous authors.

8 G. Coëdès has given an interesting survey of the enormous output of Siamese Buddhist Literature in his learned article: 'Note sur les ouvrages Palis composés en pays Thai,' BEFEO, XV, 1915, pp. 39-46.

of the Indian Princes in Indonesia and to fashion innumerable images of the highest sculptural merits, for the use of religious devotees. Boro-Budur, of Java,—the “Parthenon of the East,” and Angkor Vat, the *chef d'oeuvre* of Cambodia, to name only two of the supreme masterpieces, eclipse anything that has been achieved on the soil of India itself. The brilliant schools of sculpture in Java, in Siam, in Cambodia, and in Malaya likewise put to the shade the schools of Image-making in continental India. These evidences unquestionably point to the fact that the Indians of the continent assiduously kept up the values and standards of Indian culture in the so-called colonies at a high level of excellence, and in some phases (e.g. in Plastic Arts) outshone the achievements at their original birth-place. They did not look upon these distant centres of Indian culture across the seas—as mere inferior reflexions of Indian culture—derived second-hand from cotinental sources, but, in many instances as independent seats and sources, as they developed the oversea tracts (“*dvīpāntara*”) into the most important limbs and significant centres of the best phases of Indian culture. The so-called colonies were regarded as integral parts of the Great Indian Continent—so as to make India and Greater India—as one unified and uniform texture woven by the best Indian hands—whether living at home, or abroad. This view of the relationship of the continental and the so-called colonial culture receives credence if we consider some of the texts of the *Purāṇas*.

According to the geography of the *Purāṇas*, India Proper is designated as “Jambu-dvīpa,” while the total extension and limits of “Bhārata-varṣa” include the nine additional territories (*nava bhedān*) across the Indian Ocean, “each inaccessible from the other” (*agamyāḥ parasparam*) being “separated by the barriers of the seas” (*samudrāntarītā*). Thus in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Krauṣṭuki addresses Mārkaṇḍeya in the following words:—“Lord! you have summarily described the Jambu-dvīpa,.....Please describe

to me in detail Bhārata with its distinguishing parts (*bhedā*), their situations and extensions, specifying the territories and the mountains." To this Mārkaṇḍeya replied:—"Bhārata-varṣa, you should understand, consists of nine distinct territories, separated by the seas and each inaccessible from the other: Indra-dvīpa, Kaśerumān, Tāmra-varṇa (? Tāmraparṇi), Gabhastimān, Nāga-dvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa (? Borneo)—these are the nine islands girt by the seas."<sup>9</sup>

Even if all the nine islands cannot be satisfactorily identified, the description of their being separated from each other by seas appears to suggest the picture of an "Island-India," the 'Greater India' of our modern scholars. In the Vāmana Purāṇa (Ch. 13, 1-11), after describing the component territories of Jambudvīpa, nine territories of Bhārata-varṣa (Greater India) are likewise indicated. Here the names of nine islands are slightly different: Indra-dvīpa, Kaseruṇa, Tāmaraparṇa, Gabhastimān, Nāga-dvīpa, Kaṭāha, Sīṃhala, Vāruṇa and Kumāra.<sup>10</sup> In this list,

9 Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, Ch. 57, Śloka, 5, 6, 7:—

"Bhāratasyāsyavarṣasya nava bhedān nibodha me |  
Samudrāntarītā jñeyāste tvagamyāḥ parasparam || 5 ||  
Indra-dvīpaḥ, Kaśerumāns-Tāmravarṇo Gabhastimān |  
Nāga-dvīpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvo Vāruṇastathā || 6 ||  
Ayamtu navamasteṣāṃ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṃvṛtaḥ |"

It should be noted that actually eight islands are mentioned instead of nine demanded by the context.

The description given of the oversea tracts in the text of the Vāyupurāṇa which is believed to be one of the earliest, is substantially the same as in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa—see Vāyupurāṇa, Ch. 45, Śloka 78-80.

10 "Indra-dvīpaḥ Kaśeruṇās-Tāmraparṇo Gabhastimān |  
Nāga-dvīpaḥ Kaṭāhaśca Sīṃhala Vāruṇastathā || 10 ||  
Ayamtu navamasteṣāṃ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṃvṛtaḥ |  
Kumārākhyāḥ parikhyāto dvīpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottaraḥ || 11 ||

Vāmana-Purāṇa, Ch. 13, Śloka 10-11.



apparently a later list, Saumya and Gāndharva have been substituted by two new territories those of Kaṭāha and Siṃhala, and Kumāra is a new addition. It is immaterial for our purpose, here, whether we could identify all these nine islands. Nāga-dvīpa may be Nicobar Island.<sup>10a</sup> Vāruṇa may be Borneo (Vahriṇa).<sup>11</sup> Kaṭāha is apparently the Province of Ke(d)dah in the northern parts of the Malaya Peninsula, having its chief city of the same name (Kaṭāhanagara) with its neighbouring city known as Gaṅgānagara, both of which were besieged and destroyed by Rājendra-Cola. As suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar,<sup>12</sup> the name of Kaṭāha must have been introduced in the Vāmana Purāṇa "after Kaṭāha became famous under the Śailendra Emperors in the eighth century."

In the Agnipurāṇa (Chs. 118, 119) a distinction is also made between India Proper (*Jambu-dvīpa*) and Island-India (*Dvīpāntara*)<sup>12a</sup> consisting of nine islands

10a Jayaswal's identification of Nāga-dvīpa with Nicobar has been confirmed by a passage in the *Valābhassa-lātaka* cited by V. S. Agrawala *JBORS.*, XXIII, pp. 133-37.

11 'Vāruṇa' may be a variation of 'Vahriṇa' which I have sought to identify with Borneo on the basis of passages in the 48th section of the Vāyu-Purāṇa. See my note published in *Rūpam*, 1926, Nos. 27-28, p. 114, and my paper: *On Some Hindu Relics in Borneo*, *JGIS.*, January, 1936, p. 97ff.

12 D. C. Sircar: "Unhistoricity of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*," *IAHRS.*, IX, 1, 2, p. 67.

12a As regards the significance of the term *Dvīpāntaram*, we have interesting light thrown on the word from a very curious source. In a Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary compiled in Central Asia between the 7th and 8th centuries, reference is made to the countries situated in the Southern Seas as *Jipāntala*, which Sylvain Lévi has restored to *Dvīpāntara* and which Lévi paraphrases as "another isle" or "another continent." According to Sylvain Lévi, this term properly designates the Indian Archipelago and the neighbouring countries" (*Le nom de l'archipel Indien en sanscrit*, *Actes du XVIIIe Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Oxford, p. 131).

or territories (*nava-bhedā*) girt by the seas.<sup>13</sup> What we are seeking to establish is that the nine islands of Greater India were regarded as integral part of Bhārata-varṣa, and an equal sanctity attached to the component parts of Island-India, as strongholds of national Indian culture—where Indians lived, fought, traded and performed their religious duties (*yajña*, *tapas*, etc.) and they were looked upon as suitable areas for their cultural activity (*ṛama-bhūmi*) on an equal footing with any part of India Proper (*Jambu-dvīpa*). From this point of view, a passage in the Vāmana Purāṇa (Ch. 13, 13) is very significant: 'The nine islands have been sanctified by the performance of sacrifices,<sup>14</sup> by warfare,<sup>15</sup> by trade,<sup>16</sup> and diverse other cultural activities' (*"Ijyā-yuddha-vaṇijyādyaiḥ ṛamma-bhiḥ kṛtapāvanāḥ"*). Now, if we take one by one each

- 13 "Indra-dvīpaḥ Kaseruśca Tāmra-varṇo Gabhastimān|| 3 ||  
Nāga-dvīpastathā Saumyo Gāndharvastvatha Vāruṇaḥ||  
Ayamtu navamasteṣāṃ dvīpaḥ sāgara-saṃvṛtaḥ|| 4 ||  
Yojanānāṃ sahasrāṇi dvīpo'yaṃ dakṣiṇottarāt||  
Nava bhedaḥ Bhāratasya madhyabhede'tha pūrvvataḥ|| 5 ||

In describing the oversea territories of Bhāratavarṣa, the Agnipurāṇa (Ch. 119, Śloka 27 & 28) refers to a peak, as the boundary of a tract, under the name of Aṇḍa-Kaṭāha, of which the limit is said to be the peak in question. Could it be the peak of Keddaḥ in Upper Malaya?

- "Lokā-lokastataḥ śailo yojanāyutavistṛitaḥ|| 27 ||  
Lokālokastu tamasāvṛto'thāṇḍa-Kaṭāhataḥ||  
Bhūmiḥ sāṇḍa-kaṭāheṇa pañcāśat-koṭi-vistarā|| 28 ||

(Vaṅgavāsī Edition, p. 285)

14 This is corroborated by the Yūpa Inscription of Mūlavarman in Borneo, which commemorates the performance of a *vahu-suvarṇaka yajña*. See Vogel's article in *Bijdragen*, Deel XXIV, 1918.

15 This is attested by numerous battles including the severe conflicts of the Śailendras and Colas.

16 This is borne out by numerous evidences in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Manimekhalai, the Śilappadikāram and the Kathāsaritsāgara.

of these items, which, according to the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, imparts sanctity to the oversea tracts, we have actual illustration and proof of each item. Thus as regards *ijyā yajña* or sacrifices—we find, this is corroborated by the Yūpa inscription of Mūlavarman discovered in Borneo which commemorates the performance of a *vahusuvārṇaka yajña*. As regards battles and warfare, this is attested by numerous battles at various places in Malaya and Indonesia including the severe conflicts of the Śailendras and the Colas. As regards trade and commercial activity—that a brisk trade and mercantile intercourse were carried on between India and Indonesia is borne out by numerous evidences in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the two Tamil Epics, *Manimekhalai* and *Śilappadikāram*, and in the *Kathā saritsāgara* some of which we shall presently cite here.

Put into modern parlance, the canon of sanctity laid down in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* would mean—wherever the Indians have lived, whenever they have rendered their homage to the Divinity through sacrificial rites,—there they have built up a New India. This is, in short, the principle of Indian colonization.

This canon of sanctity prescribed in the *Vāmana Purāṇa* appears to meet and fully answer Finot's objections—that the *Arthaśāstra* could not possibly recommend a colony of Indians to emigrate across the seas and establish themselves in tracts, densely populated by non-Aryan and aboriginal inhabitants as these tracts would be unsuitable venues or fields for Indian cultural expansion. By the time of the earliest Purāṇas these oversea tracts must have been thoroughly Indianized and adopted and sanctified as *ṛmabhūmis* or appropriate areas of Indian cultural activity. The point established is that the intervening seas did not prevent the distant territories in Island-India—being actually placed on the map of Indian culture. That Indians have throughout the centuries regarded oversea territories of Bhāratavarṣa as essential and integral parts of India of which Jambudvīpa was only

another segment, may be, a big segment,—is further corroborated by the testimony of Arab geographers. Thus Masūdī in his work "*Meadows of Gold*" (943 A.D.) thus indicates the geographical limits of India: "India is a vast country *extending over sea and land and mountains*. It borders on the country of Zābāg, (*i.e.* Sumatra or Greater Java) which is the kingdom of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands (*i.e.* the Śailendra Emperor). Zābāg which separates India from China is comprised within the former country (*i.e.* India)".<sup>17</sup>

Further corroboration of this view is offered by a curious but a very significant *śloka* in the Fifth Act of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, the upper limit of the date of which has been accepted by scholars as the seventh century. The *śloka* describes the shady and amorous adventures of a fashionable rake, a gallant sensualist who has tasted the gay life of all the famous cities of India (Bhāratavarṣa), having visited women in the cities of Ayodhyā (Sāketa), Kāncīpura (Conjeeveram), Pampā (Bellary), Vidiśā (Besnagar), Kaṭāha-nagara (Keddah, in Malaya Peninsula) and in Kuṇḍina (probably a city in Vidarbha).<sup>18</sup>

17 Quoted in R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarnadvīpa*, Vol. I, pp. 162-163 from Ferrand, *Relations de Voyages et textes Geographiques Arabes, Persans et Turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Vol. I, p. 92.

18 The *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, and other cognate literature, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the Sanskrit *kāvya*s and the dramas offer abundant evidence of the establishments of gay women and *hetaræ* in all cities as essential part of a cultured city life. Even in the *Rāmāyana* we get a glimpse of the existence of gay women in Ayodhyā itself—and Daśaratha, realizing that the retinues of exiled Rāma will find their life in banishment very forlorn and drab, without these amenities of city life,—enjoins that the *hetaræ* should be sent out from Ayodhyā to this place of banishment.

(Rāghavasyānuyātrārthaṃ kṣipraṃ pratividhiyatām|

Rūpājivāśca vādinyo vaṇijaśca mahādhanāh)||

(Ayodhyā-Kāṇḍa, 36 Sarga, 2-3)

“Aye ! Ayam purāṇa-viṭo Veśarakṣitaḥ | Śāntanavamiva  
Śaratalpagataṃ veśabāṭa-makaraketu-mandirāvasanname-  
naṃ paśyāmi | Kutah :—

Śākete kṛta-kautuko vikalitaḥ Kāncīpure kāñcibhiḥ  
Pampāyāmbhisāritaḥ pariṇanair-vijñāpito Vaidīse |  
Gotreṣu skhalitaḥ Kaṭāhanagare, yaḥ Kuṇḍine muṇḍito  
Veśa-strī-nikaṣopalaścīrataraṃ bhūtvaiḥ niṣṭhāṃ gataḥ || 3 ||

Translation :

Hullo ! Here comes the old sinner Veśarakṣita. I  
find him in a very much chastened mood, pretty exhausted  
by his visits to the temples of Eros.

And how ?

‘Having indulged in pranks in Śāketa,<sup>19</sup> exasperated by  
the girdles (of the gay girls) at Kāncīpura, run after (by  
girls) in Pampā, fired by old flames at the city of Vidiśā,  
discomfited by addressing (new lovers) by wrong names  
(of old lovers’ names) in the city of Kaṭāha and shaved  
(in disgrace) in Kuṇḍina, having served as the touch-  
stone of gay girls, (he) has now finally settled down  
to a pious life !’

Here, in this picture of a Rake’s Progress, the object  
is to mention all the great cities of India famous for their

Viṭa, as a gallant and fast young man who has acquired considerable  
experience of the ways of *hetarae* frequently occurs in the Indian  
dramas (e.g. *Mṛcchakaṭika*). The earliest definition of a Viṭa is that  
given in the *Kāmasūtra*, (Ch. IV, 46): “*Bhukta-vibhavastu guṇavān  
sakalatro veśe goṣṭhyāṃśca vabumatastadrūpajīvi ca viṭaḥ.*” ‘An accom-  
plished person who has spent through all his patrimony and who  
lives by associating with hetaraes and their lovers and club-men.’

19 If ‘*akṛta-kautuka*’ is the correct reading, the passage should be  
rendered as ‘being baffled in his pranks in Śāketa.’ I am indebted  
to Mr. Kshetresh Chattopadhyaya of Allahabad University  
and Mr. P. V. Kane of Bombay for valuable and courteous assistance  
in translating the *śloka*. According to Mr. Kane, in the word  
‘*abhisārita*’, the Lake of Pampā (*Pampā-sarīt*, or *śarovara*) may have  
been suggested.

gay life, where gentlemen of pleasure could seek satisfaction. Of the six cities mentioned in the verse Śāketa, Kāñcīpura, Pampā, Vidiśā, Kaṭāha and Kuṇḍina, the first four are very well known. Special significance attaches to the two last-named cities, Kuṇḍina and Kaṭāha. Kuṇḍina is a very little known city, and does not figure very much in ancient history. We can offer two alternative identifications. On two inscribed stèles (coming from Prasat Komphus, and Prah Einkosei, in Cambodia) a place called Kaṇḍin (? Kuṇḍina) is mentioned where Divākara-bhaṭṭa, the royal chaplain of King Jayavarman V, built and endowed a sanctuary of Śiva in 894 Śaka (972 A.D.)<sup>20</sup> The place came also to be known under the name of Madhu-vana or Madhu-kānana, the "Bower of Bliss." The date of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava* could hardly be pulled down as late as the last part of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, a chronology necessitated by the fact that Kaṇḍin does not leap into the pages of history before 972 A.D. Besides, however intriguing the name, Madhu-vana was after all a small provincial town (perhaps a large village) and never appears to have achieved the status of a major city, such as would attract visitors from India Proper, in search of a gay life—in this far-off "Bower of Bliss". We have, therefore, to seek an alternative identification which the text of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* offers. 'The Ocean of the Streams of Story' composed by Somadeva (C. 1073 A.D.) thrice mentions the city of Kuṇḍina: (a) in the story of Nāgasvāmin, a Brāhmaṇa from a city called Kuṇḍina,<sup>21</sup> (b) in the story of the seven Brāhmaṇas who

20 The inscription of Prasat Kompus, partly in Sanskrit and partly in Khmèr, is edited, and translated by Çœdès (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Hanoi, 1937, pp. 160-186). The inscription from Prah Einkosei is discussed in BEFEO., XXX, p. 224.

21 Tawney's translation, II, p. 449. Durgaprasad and Parab's edition, p. 511: Nāgasvāminī nāmāham Kuṇḍinākhyāt-purād-dvijh|| 20 ||

devoured a cow in time of famine and (c) in the story of Kanakavarṣa and Madanasundarī.<sup>22</sup> In the last-named story, Kuṇḍina is referred to as a prosperous and wealthy city,<sup>23</sup> in the province of Vidarbha (*Vidarbha-viṣayā-viṣayā-śritam*), and may well be the city of gaiety, suggested in the text of our drama.

As regards the city of Kaṭāha, mentioned in the verse, ever since Çœdès wrote his epoch-making article: '*Le Royaume de Çri-Vijaya*'<sup>24</sup> identifying the city as one of the main seats of the Śailendra Kings of the Empire of Śrī-Vijaya, which comprised the greater part of the Malaya Peninsula, several Indonesian islands including, Sumatra, Banka, and Java, quite a formidable literature has grown up over the problem of identifying the exact site of Kaṭāha-nagara which in ancient Tamil literature is also known under the name of Kālagam and Kaḍāraṃ.<sup>25</sup>

It is very probable, that Kaṭāha (Kālagam, Kaḍāraṃ) was an important sea-port and a brisk centre of trade, at least from the third century A.D., long before the rise of the Śailendras. According to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, on

22 Tawney I, p. 241. Parab's edition, p. 120: Kuṇḍinākhye pure pūrvamupādhyāyasya kasyacit|| 109 ||

23 Tawney I, pp. 539, 541, 548. Parab's Edition, p. 278: 'Vidarbheṣvasti nagaram Śrīmat-Kuṇḍina-samjñakam' || 56 || and p. 286.

24 BEFEO., tome XVIII, 1918, pp. 51-56.

25 J. L. Moens: "Çrivijaya, Yāva en Kaṭāha," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal,—Land en Volkenkunde*, LXXVII, 1937, pp. 317-486. J. Ph. Vogel: *Het Koninkrijk Çrivijaya, Bijdragen tot de Taal,—Land en Volkenkunde*, Deel 75, 1919, pp. 626-637. Ferrand in reviewing Çœdès's thesis suggests that Kaṭāha and Kaḍāra are two different sites, *J. As.*, 1919, p. 186. Moens in his paper cited above seeks to place Kaṭāha in the old Province of Keḍu in Java.

Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in an able article 'Kaṭāha' *JGIS*, V, 1938, p. 128 ff., elucidates the problem of identifying this important city of the Śailendra Empire.

the authority of the text of the *Paṭṭinappalāi* (one of the early Tamil Śāṅgam works), "Kālagam (=Kaṭāha) stands for the name of a place in constant trade relation with Paṭṭinam, or Kāveripaṭṇam, the celebrated port of the early Cola monarchs of the Śāṅgam age. And the mention of Kālagam which must mean Kaḍāram or nothing, in this early poem of the second or third century A.D. is not without considerable significance to a study of the early history of the Hindu colonies of the East." (*JGIS*, V, p. 129).<sup>26</sup> That other parts of India were also in frequent mercantile and adventurous communications with the city of Kaṭāha appears to be borne out by numerous references to that oversea city, in more than one stories of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. These references appear to establish that Kaṭāha was not only a city where a brisk trade was carried on in the sale and purchase of jewels,<sup>27</sup> to which merchants from India frequently resorted in search of fortune, but it was also a "home of all manner of felicities" (*Ketanam Sarva-sampadām*) the amenities of which attracted young men from India seeking pleasure, as the verse under discussion suggests. The principal port of embarkation for northerners sailing to Kaṭāha—was the old port of Tāmralipti (Tamluk). Various passages of the text of *Kathāsaritsāgara* leave no doubt as regards the fact that the people of India thought nothing of making frequent voyages to Kaṭāha. Very well-known is the story of the foolish

26 Gerini has suggested (*Researches*, p. 570, n.) that Kaṭāha is referred to by Ptolemy under the form of Ko-tat, Kau-tek Kiu-te, or Kortatha. He also suggests that Kaṭāha was taken by Fan-man the gallant king of Fu-nan (Cambodge), who reigned between 200-230 A.D. as referred to by the Chinese History of the Liang Dynasty.

27 The precious stones which were the chief articles of commerce of Kaṭāhanagara were probably derived from the neighbouring peak of Keḍah (Gunang Chera). Colonel Low, cited by Gerini (*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 485, n. 2) says "that large crystals of quartz, gold and tin are to be found there."



merchant who went to the island of Kaṭāha to trade. Among his wares he had a great quantity of fragrant aloes-wood which he foolishly burnt and made into charcoal and sold at a cheap price.<sup>28</sup> More romantic is the story of Guhasena, a merchant of Tāmralipti, who went to the city of Kaṭāha for the purpose of trade, notwithstanding the jealousies of his wife Devasmitā who was apprehensive that her husband would be ensnared by some other lady in Kaṭāha.<sup>29</sup> Guhasena took a long time to complete his sales and purchases of jewels and other wares in Kaṭāha<sup>30</sup>—a delay which afforded opportunity to four young merchants of Kaṭāha to come to Tāmralipti to make an unsuccessful attempt to seduce Devasmitā—who subsequently sails to Kaṭāha and punishes the rascals and brings back her truant husband. In the story of the Brāhman Candrasvāmin, it is related that the father makes several oversea journeys in search of his son and daughter. From a city named Jalapura on the shore of the sea, he embarked on a ship and went across to the isle of Nārikela and from there he went in a ship to the island of Kaṭāha.<sup>31</sup> Thereafter, he visited in turn the islands of Karpūra,<sup>32</sup> Suvarṇa (Sumatra ?) and Sīṃhala

28 "Jagāma sa vaṇijyāyai Kaṭāha-dvīpamekadā" Śakti-yaśo-Lambaka 10, Text p. 315.

29 Athāstam pitare prāpte prerito'bhūtsa bandhubhiḥ|  
Kaṭāha-dvīpa-gamane Guhaseno yadr̥cchayā||  
Taccāsyā gamanam bhāryā tadā nāṅgicakāra sā|  
Sersyā Devasmitā Kāmamanyastri-saṅga-śaṅkini||75|| Text, p. 41.

30 Guhaseno'pi tam prāpa Kaṭāha-dvīpamāśu saḥ|  
Kartum pravavṛte cātra ratnānām kraya-vikrayau|| 83 || Text  
p. 42.

31 Potena gacchatā sākam Kaṭāha-dvīpa-mabhyagāt|| 60 ||  
Evam kramena Karpūra-suvarṇa-dvīpa-sīṃhalān|  
Vaṇigbhiḥ saha gatvāpi tam prāpa vaṇijam na saḥ|| 62 || Text,  
p. 285.

32 Very probably, Karpūra-dvīpa ('the Land of Camphor') was an earlier toponym for Ṭakkola, a word which is an equivalent of

(Ceylon) in the company of merchants, in search of his children. That frequent voyages were also made by merchants to the island of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra?) at one time part of the Śailendra Empire, is proved by the story of Samudra-sūra ("the hero of the seas") apparently a courageous sailor-merchant from Harṣapura (the city belonging to King Harṣavarman), who was shipwrecked near the coast of Suvarṇadvīpa, went to the city of Kalasapura; and came back with a lot of money, and lived in affluence ever thereafter.<sup>33</sup>

Reverting to the text of the *Kaumudī-mahotsava*, we have cited enough references to establish that Kaṭāha-nagara as a very popular city was very well known to Indians who made frequent voyages to the city, which was thus linked up with India Proper in various ties of mercantile and social interest. That Kaṭāha-nagara, in far-off Malaya should be mentioned in the verse in the drama in the same breath with the other well-known cities of India Proper,—appear to surprisingly corroborate the view we are seeking to establish, viz., that the territories beyond the Indian Ocean were regarded as integral parts of Indian culture-area,—not mere "Colonies" of Provincial, Indianized, or Indianesque culture. In fact, they were the very limbs of India expanding themselves beyond the seas with all the characteristic and essential qualities of Indian life and culture growing and sustaining itself in new environments.

In the field of Epigraphy, the characters of the various Indian alphabets were adhered to in the oversea tracts and kingdoms, with very few modifications and developments, which were natural growths, and were, in no sense, degenerations or decadences from original Indian standards.

In the field of Architecture and the Plastic Arts—we also

Karpūra' (Cf. Bhaṭṭasvāmin: "Kecit Karpūram-ity-āhus-ṭakkolam iti cāpare| Śrī-vāsakam tathā kecit kecil-lohita-candanam||")

33 *Kaṭāharitsāgara*, Bombay Edition, p. 273.

find a logical, a natural, and a continuous development of the ideals and principles of Indian art as formulated at the sources, carried out to their utmost perfections in the various culture-areas in Greater India. Undoubtedly, certain new forms and new types are achieved in sculptural representations (e.g. in the images of Viṣṇu and Lokeśvara in Cambodia), but with the exceptions of a few local ethnic types in physiognomy, they strictly adhere to the principles and conventions of Indian sculpture and the canons of Indian image-making evolved on the Continent. In architecture, notwithstanding, some adoptions here and there, of local structural forms, the fundamental principles and physiognomy of Indian temples, shrines, *stūpas* and other structures are faithfully followed, and they grow and develop on the same roads to new developments under novel conditions, and under luxurious, congenial, and very favourable environments. As I have shown elsewhere, that with very few exceptions, there are no features in Indian architecture or sculpture in the "Colonies" which cannot be explained as the natural development of essentially Indian forms in a new environment. Indian art in Siam, Indo-China, Malaya and the Indian Archipelago is a continuation and logical development by Indian hands of the principles and symbols of Indian creation, applied and developed under "Colonial" conditions. The art, culture and civilization of India beyond the seas formed an integral part of the art and civilization of the Indian continent. The culture-areas that developed and bore rich fruits in the trans-Gangetic territories and in the Indian Archipelago, were so many outlying frontiers and logical expansions of the civilization of a Greater India stretching itself to the shores beyond the "moving waves" (*calormmi*). On the basis of the new evidences set forth above it may be justly claimed that the theory of a group of scholars of the so-called "Indian Influences" in Greater India demands a serious modification. It is not a question of "Influences", it is a question of a wholesale transportation of the characteristic features and

phases of Indian culture, bag and baggage,<sup>34</sup> in all its characteristic features, elements and textures, with all its social and religious polities, its trade-guilds, and industrial systems, its canons of architecture and sculpture. Indian culture in Indonesia is in fact a substantial part of the original context of Indian civilization<sup>35</sup> carried overseas by Indian emigrants—to a new culture-area—a new *karma-bhūmi* इज्या-युद्ध वारिज्यायैः कर्मभिः कृतपावनाः ।

34 A. Bergaigne (*Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campā et Cambodge*, I, p. 170) cites Burnell with approval to suggest that more or less wholesale emigrations flowed from India to the Indonesian Colonies: "Burnell etait porte à l'expliquer par des emigrations opérées plus ou moins en masse, a la suite de crises religieuses, ou il faisait intervenir tantot les invasions mussulmanes." The suggestion that the emigrations were necessitated by Mussalman invasions or Brahmanic persecutions is wholly gratuitous. Dr. Kern, in an article in Dutch on 'Dravidian Folknames of Sumatra' (*Bijdragen*, Deel 55, 1903) has shown that there was a large colony of Tamil workers settled not only in Sumatra, but also in Java; the Hindu noblemen employed such labourers and workmen imported from India. Kempers who does not believe that Indian colonizers planted themselves in the colonies in any large numbers, nevertheless concedes that "their numbers were regularly reinforced by new-comers" ("*Cultural Relations Between India and Java*," *Calcutta University Lectures*, 1937, p. 6).

35 A keen controversy has raged over the problem—as to who were the actual authors of the architectural and sculptural masterpieces in Siam, Cambodia, Campā, Malaya (Śrī-Vijaya), Sumatra and Java—a controversy to which two eminent scholars Dr. Bosch and M. Parmentier have richly contributed (see English translation of Parmentier's article: 'Art of Campā,' (*Rūpam* Nos. 15 and 16, pages 41-48), and of Dr. Bosch's article 'A Hypothesis as to the Origin of Hindu-Javanese Art,' (*Rūpam*, No. 17, January 1924, pp. 6-39). Reference may also be made to the present writer's 'Note on the Origin of Indo-Javanese Art' (*Rūpam* No. 17, pp. 54-57).

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Alivardi and his times;** By Kalikinkar Datta. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1939. Pp. xv+302.

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta has already won high reputation for his scholarly contributions to the history of India in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. Among his other publications may be mentioned *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, 1740-1770 A.D.*; *Education and Social Amelioration of Women in Pre-Mutiny India*, and the *Santal Insurrection of 1855-57*. In the present work he traces with equal industry and success the career of the last powerful Muslim ruler of Bengal, Mirza Muhammad Ali, better known as Alivardi Khan.

A glance at the excellent bibliography given at the end is enough to convince the reader that he has utilised all available sources bearing on his subject. Here the sources are classified and described under the following heads: (1) Contemporary Persian Works, (2) Records of the East India Company, (3) Correspondence of the Council of Chandernagore, (4) Works of Eighteenth-century European Writers and Travellers, (5) Contemporary Bengali Literature, (6) Contemporary Sanskrit Works, (7) Maratha Records, (8) Secondary Works, (9) Magazines and Journals, (10) Maps and (11) Glossaries. Eight appendices, a good index, a valuable map of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and a map of the battle of Giria, add to the value of this work.

In the first two chapters, the author describes Alivardi's early career and his rise to power. The dreary narratives of Maratha invasions and Afghan insurrections form the topics of the two following chapters. The next (Ch. V) describes the relations of Alivardi with European traders and especially with the English, the most powerful of them all. Then follows (Ch. VI) the story of the closing scene of Alivardi's career with an estimate of his character. The

following chapters are of a more general character and they seek to throw a welcome, if somewhat fitful, light on the external trade of Bengal, the general economic condition and the social life of the province. The author's narrative, based upon a first-hand study of the records and enriched with his careful observations, is accurate and scholarly, his style is easy and flowing, his historical reflections are always thoughtful, his estimate of characters is sound and just. We have no doubt that the present work will remain for a long time to come the standard authority on the subject which it treats.

We would like to offer a few remarks for the consideration of the author in case a second edition of the work is called for. P. viii, last but one line, for *portrait* read *reproduction*. P. 57, for *dominating over* read *dominate*. P. 234, 'Education depended on private initiative and encouragement.' The examples quoted illustrate patronage of literary men rather than education. P. 238, The example of Madhusūdana illustrates the extent of 'advanced' rather than 'primary' education. P. 283, Correspondence with the Chandernagore Council. The title is incomplete and the date of publication is not given. P. 287, for *Nidu* read *Nidhu*, *Ibid*. A description of the interesting Sanskrit work Citracampū would be welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra;** By F. M. Schnitger, Conservator of the Museum at Palembang and Leader of the Archaeological Expeditions in Sumatra, 1935 and 1936. Published by E. J. Brill, Leiden, Pp. I-XI, 1-44. Frontispiece and 43 plates.

The students of Indian and Indonesian Art and Archaeology are deeply indebted to Dr. F. M. Schnitger for the great service he has rendered to scholarship by publishing his work on *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*. The Buddhist and Brahmanical antiquities of Java have been treated at great length by many writers among whom the

names of such veteran scholars as Dr. Kern, Dr. Stutterheim and Dr. N. J. Krom stand foremost; they as well as a devoted band of Dutch archaeologists did a great deal for the elucidation of the past history of Java and the adjacent islands of the Indian Archipelago. Dr. Schnitger can well claim to be ranked as one of them by the painstaking and methodical researches he has carried in the same line. His work is of special interest and significance on account of the fact that he took up Sumatran art and archaeology as his principal subject and undertook independent exploration and excavation works in the island. He has thus been able to collect a vast amount of archaeological materials which throw a flood of light on its past history and civilisation; the materials sedulously collected and so ably presented by him in the work under review fully show what part Eastern and Southern India played in shaping the art and culture of Sumatra in ancient days.

His work consists of a detailed account of the archaeological discoveries that were made by himself and by others in the different parts of southern, central and western Sumatra. Civilisation in ancient Sumatra as in other countries, grew along some of the river-valleys. Such are the Komering, the Musi, the Hari, the Kampar Kanan, the Barumon and its left tributary the Panei. Among the places where scientific excavations and explorations were carried on by the scholar himself, mention may be made of the various sites near Palembang drained by the river Musi, Muara Djambi and Sungei Langsat on the river Hari, Muara Takus and various other sites on the Kampar Kanan, Korintji, Menangkabau and some other places in West Sumatra, and last, but not the least, the vast and interesting groups of ruins in the northern part of Central Sumatra—the Padang Lawas region. The description that he gives of the various antiquarian remains found in the above localities—such as numerous terracotta objects, stone and bronze sculptures, architectural fragments and ruins of brick shrines, and inscriptions—is full and interesting; it will serve

as an incentive to other researches in this field of Indonesian archaeology in the collection of materials that will enhance our knowledge of the island's past. The illustrations, though necessarily limited in number, are yet very much representative in character and include some very fine stone and bronze images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, Śiva and Viṣṇu figures in the same materials, the fine image of the Bhairava—probably a portrait of king Ādityavarman as the demon Kṣetrajña Wiśesadharaṇī—from Sangei Langsat, the ruined brick structures and the very interesting sculptural and architectural objects found in the Padang Lawas region; these show the remarkable progress that was made in the domain of art by the people of Sumatra. On the specimens of plastic arts which were discovered by him in Padang Lawas the author remarks, 'From the specimens available, however, one may draw the conclusion that the Hindoo-Batak sculptors and workers in bronze were as great masters in their craft as were their colleagues in Java.' This remark can be fully endorsed if we look at the fine illustrations which are incorporated in his book. The bronze figures of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Buddha, Lokeśvara and Maitreya in the valley of the river Musi are not only of exceptional iconographic interest, but a good many of them also show unmistakable impress of the Pāla school of art in them; a reference to the Maitreya, Lokeśvara and Buddha figures reproduced in Plate VIII of the volume under review will justify the above remark. The dancing Heruka of Bahal II in Padang Lawas (through some inadvertence of the printer the descriptive labels of this figure and the Kāla-makara head reproduced in its proper right, in Plate XXXIV have been transposed), not only from its iconography, but also from the artistic vigour manifest in it, is distinctly reminiscent of the best days of the Eastern school of early mediæval sculpture in India. The dancing figures hybrid in character, that were collected by the author from Pulo on the Panei in the Padang Lawas region, were identified by the present reviewer as the Indonesian counterparts of the Indian *gaṇas* in *JGIS.*, Vol. IV, 1937.



pp. 144-47. It is impossible in the present place to take fuller stock of the wealth of iconographic and artistic material collected in the pages of this book. It is, however, sufficient to state that a perusal of its chapters and a careful scrutiny of the excellent illustrations will enable one to add substantially to his knowledge of Indonesian art and archaeology.

Messrs. E. J. Brill of Leiden are to be congratulated on the sumptuous get-up of the volume and its very fine reproduction.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA.

## SHORT NOTICES

An important announcement is made in the *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Letters, Compete Rendus des Séances de l'Année 1939* Bulletin de Juillet-Aout. From this we learn that M. Coedès, Director of the French School of the Far East, has just signed an archæological agreement with the Siamese Government permitting members of the French School to excavate in the Siamese territory on the same terms as those accorded to Siamese archæologists excavating in French Indo-China. Thus Khmér archæology has at last acquired the possibility of extending its researches beyond the political frontier of the French possessions to the whole territory of Ancient Cambodia.

\* \* \* \* \*

In August, 1939, a small but select group of paintings belonging to the collection of Mr. O. C. Gangoly, the well-known connoisseur and historian of Indian art, was exhibited in a number of cities in Ceylon at the instance of the Northern Province Teachers' Association of the Island. The collection was a representative one, containing specimens of all schools of Indian painting from the early Buddhist times down to the neo-Bengali school of Abanindra Nath Tagore and Nanda Lal Bose. The exhibition was held at Jaffna with such success that the Ceylon Society of Arts was encouraged to invite it to Colombo where it was opened by Sir Baron D. Jayatilaka, the then Prime Minister of Ceylon and attended by H. E. the Governor and other notable visitors. In connection with this last exhibition Dr. Andreas Nell gave a talk on Indian Art, emphasizing the close connection of the ancient and mediæval art of Ceylon with that of India. It is to be hoped that similar exhibitions will be held in Ceylon in the coming years.

## OBITUARY NOTICE

AUGUSTINE M. BOYER

Born at Varennes on the 20th November, 1850, Boyer was educated at the Diocesan College at Nantes, at Saint Acheul. Ordained as priest in 1884, he began to apply himself to Oriental studies in 1891. His papers on the Indo-Scythian problem (Nahapāna et l'ère Śaka, *JA.*, 1897; Sur quelques inscriptions de l'Inde, *Ibid.*, 1898; L'Époque du Kaṇiṣka, *Ibid.*, 1900) attracted wide notice. His epigraphic, palæographic and historical studies were crowned by the publication of an admirable addition of the Niya Texts which he prepared in collaboration with E. J. Rapson and E. Senart. The works of Boyer remain as models of scrupulous science without excluding either elegance of form or boldness of expression.

(Based on an obituary notice published in *J.A.*, tome CCXXX, Avril-Juin 1938)

RAI KANAK LAL BARUA BAHADUR

Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, C.I.E., passed away in Calcutta on the 8th of January 1940, and his death has removed from our midst a keen and indefatigable research scholar. He was for many years President of the *Kāmarūpa Anusandhān Samiti* (Assam Research Society) and editor of the Samiti's Quarterly known as the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*. His numerous valuable contributions to this research journal and his monumental historical work, namely, *The Early History of Kāmarūpa* have brought to light the ancient history of Assam to a remarkable extent. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Assam Provincial Museum at Gauhati and was the Government-nominated non-official President of this Museum.

The late Rai Bahadur was also an able and experienced administrator. He was recruited to the Assam Provincial

Service from the Bar and rose to the highest position by dint of his merit. He was a Deputy Commissioner for years together and retired as Director of Industries, Assam. After retirement from Government service he was appointed a Minister in 1929 and served as such for eight years. Indeed, Assam has lost in him a very worthy son possessing the qualifications of an eminent administrator and a profound scholar.

[Based on a report by Mr. Premadhar Chaudhury, Curator, Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati.]

## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

**Bijdragen tot de Taal,—Land—en Volk. van het Nederlandsch  
Indie, deel 98, afl. 1-2, 1939**

Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus den Çivaistischen  
systeme in der Alt-Javaanischen literatur, By A. Zieseness.

**Ibid, deel 98, afl. 3. 1939**

Ārya Taḍah en de Gajah Mada-gelofte, By C. C. Berg.

On the basis of a new interpretation of Pararaton, 28,  
23-28, the writer suggests that Gajah Mada had received the  
support of Ārya Taḍah in the early years of his government.

**Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land—en Volkenkunde  
deel 80, afl. 1, 1940**

Was Pūrṇavarman van Tārumā een saura? By Ir. J. L.  
Moens.

According to the writer, the supreme god worship-  
ped by Pūrṇavarman was the Sun-god; Pūrṇavarman and this  
sun-cult are derived from Southern India; the Saura Śālaṅ-  
kāyanas are the forefathers of Pūrṇavarman's dynasty: the  
Śālaṅkāyanas being of Bharadvāja *gotra*; "the West-Javanese  
bronze portrait in Amarāvati style" appears to be a repre-  
sentation of this seer and not of Śiva, as suggested by  
Stutterheim.

**Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en  
Wetenschappen, Jaarboek VI, 1939**

List of acquisitions of the Royal Batavian Society for the  
year 1938 under the following heads, (a) Prehistoric,  
(b) Archæological, (c) Historical, (d) Ceramical, (e) Musical  
and (f) Ethnographical.

**Oudheidkundig Verslag, 1938, utigegeven door het Kon.  
Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten  
en Wetenschappen.**

Contains a report of the activities of the Society in  
various directions. Among other points of interest should

be mentioned the survey of the reconstructed temple-complex at Loro Jonggrang and the discovery of 12 copper-plates dated between 868 and 880 A.D. The report contains 56 plates illustrating works-in-hand or completed, boundary columns, *gopuras*, *lingas*, *kālamakara* designs, images, etc.

**Djāwā**, Tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut, 19de Jaargang, No. 6, Nov, 1939, Nieuw licht op Bali's cultuur, By Dr. R. Goris; Sanskrit op Bali. By Dr. C. Hooykaas.

**Literatuur-Overzicht over het jaar 1938 van de Taal-, Land- en Volk. en Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië.** By H. van Meurs.

Gives a list of articles and books about Netherlands-India for 1938 under the following heads: (a) General, (b) Java and Madura, (c) Sumatra and neighbouring countries, (d) Borneo, (e) Celebes and the Moluccas, (f) New Guinea, (g) the Small Sunda Islands, (h) Netherlands West Indies.

**De Heiligdommen van Palembang.** By N. J. Krom.  
Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche  
Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd.  
Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks  
Deel I. no. 7, 1 Plate.

A most important article on the history and culture of Palembang based on archæological, and literary data. According to the writer, Palembang is Old Malayu. On its western side was a Buddhist sanctuary reminiscent of South-Indian architectural styles; on its eastern side was a *siddha-yātrā* sanctuary which was perhaps Indonesian at first but was Hinduised after the 7th century, Śailendra and Javanese influences were successively projected on the spot.

**Javaansche Meisjesspelen en Kinderliedjes**  
Afl. 4 & 5 By H. Overbeck

Detailed description of the games of Javanese maidens and children with text, translations and numerous illustrations.  
[H. B. SARKAR]

**Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**  
Vol. XVII, Part I (October 1939)

Introduction to the Study of Ancient times in Malay Peninsula  
and the Straits of Malacca. By Roland Braddell (Section  
III—Pre-Fu-nan, Section IV—Fu-nan).

**Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society,**  
Vol. XXIX, No. 3

India and Old Ceylon. By V. Srinivasan.

*Ibid.* No. 4.

India and Old Ceylon (Contd.). By V. Srinivasan

*Ibid.* Vol. XXX, No. 1

India and Old Ceylon (Contd.). By V. Srinivasan

**Man in India, Vol. XVIII, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1938)**

Ugrian fishing implements and some Indian parallels. By  
Biren Bonerjee.

*Ibid.* Vol. XIX, Nos. 2 and 3 (April-September 1939)

*Ibid.* No. 4 (October-December 1939)

An Enquiry into the racial elements in Baluchistan, Afghani-  
stan and the neighbouring areas of the Hindu Kush. By  
B. N. Datta.

**Acta Orientalia, Vol. XVII, No. 2**

Note on Śāktism in Java. By W. F. Stutterheim.

**Ostasiatische Zeitschrift**

Heft 4-5, Vol. XIV, 1938

Streiflichter auf die Entwicklung des Bauplans Chinisischer  
buddhistischer Klöster in ihrem Verhältnis zum  
Buddhistischer kultus. By Prip-Moller.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

The Greater India Society acknowledges with thanks the receipt of the following books, pamphlets, periodicals, etc. during the last six months,

### BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.

Acht en Twintigste Jaarverslag 1938 (Kon. Vereeniging Koloniaal Inst., Amsterdam).

Administration Report of the Archæological Department of Travancore, 1113 M.E., Trivandrum 1939.

Annamalai University Calendar, 1939-42, Madras 1939.

Annual Report (1938-39) of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 1939.

Annual Report (1938-39) of the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi 1939.

Crucq, K. C. Het Onderzoek in 1938 naar het graf van Jan Piertz. Coen, (Report No. 1 of Nederlandsch-Indie Arch. Survey), Batavia 1939.

Gravely, F. H., and C. Sivaramamurti, Guide to the Archæological Galleries Madras 1939.

Do. Illustrations of Indian Sculptures mostly Southern, Madras 1939,

Jaarboek (1939) of Kon. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunst. en Wetenschappen, Batavia 1939.

Jaarverslag (1938-39) of Kern Institute, Leiden, 1939.

Krom, N. J., History of Netherlands-Indies by de Klerck and Brusse (A review), Amsterdam 1939.

Do. De Heiligdommen van Palembang, Amsterdam, 1938.

Mehta, Ratilal, Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay 1939.

Meurs, H. van, Literatuur-Overzicht (1938) van Nederlandsch-Indie, Gravenhage 1939.

Overbeck, H., Javaansche Meisjesspelen en Kinderliedjes, afl. 4-5, Jogjakarta.

Poet to Poet (Full text of correspondence between Rabindranath Tagore and Yone Noguchi), Santiniketan.



Sadananda, Swami, Angkor Park

Do. Kāmboje Hindu-Sthāpatya [in Bengali] (Indian Art in Cambodia).

Tagore, Rabindranath, China and India, Santiniketan.

Tiwari, V. S., Hindi vanām Urdu [in Hindi] (Hindi versus Urdu), Allahabad.

Woolley, Leonard Sir, A Report on the Work of the Archæological Survey of India, 1939.

Yun-Shan, Tan, Cultural Interchange between India and China.

Do. What is Chinese Religion?

Do. Modern Chinese History, Santiniketan.

#### PERIODICALS

*Adyar Library Bulletin*, (Brahma-vidyā) Vols. III, pts. 3 and 4, Madras 1939.

*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XX, pts. 1 and 2, Poona 1939-40.

*Bijdragen tot de Taal,—Land en Volk. van Nederlandsch-Indië*, deel 98, afl. 3 and 4, Gravenhage, 1939.

*Buddha-Prabhā*, Vol. Nos. 3 and 4, Bombay 1939.

*Bulletin of the Colonial Institute of Amsterdam*, Vol. II, No. 4; Vol. III, No. 1, Amsterdam 1939.

*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol I, No. 1, Poona 1939.

*Djāwā*, 19 Jaarg., Nos. 5 and 6; 20 Jaarg., No. 1, Jogjakarta 1939-40.

*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol XV, Nos. 2-4, Calcutta 1939.

*Journal of the Annamalai University*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, Annamalainagar 1939.

*Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Gauhati 1939.

*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII, pts. 2-3, Madras 1939.

*Journal of the Malay Branch of the R.A.S.*, Vol. XVII, pt. 1. Singapore 1939.

*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, pt. 1, Vols. 9-11; Vol. XII, pt. 1, Lucknow 1935-39.

*Man in India*, Vol. XIX, Nos. 2-4, Ranchi 1939.

*Nāgarī-Pracāriṇī-Patrikā*, Vol. 44, Nos. 2-3, Benares 1939-40.

*Nagpur University Journal*, Nos. 1-4, Nagpur 1935-38.

*Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXX, Nos. 1-3, Bangalore City 1939-40.

*Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal,-Land- en Volk.*, Vol. LXXIX, afl. 3-4; Vol. LXXX, afl. 1, Batavia 1939-40.

*Young East*, Vol 8, No. 2, Tokyo 1939.



## NOTICE

*Subscribers and members are respectfully requested to remember that their subscriptions end with the close of the current year. It is earnestly hoped that they will be good enough to remit their subscriptions for the next year by the end of December 1940.*

*All contributions should be sent to*

**Manager, GREATER INDIA SOCIETY.**

**35, Badurbagan Row**

**P. O. Amherst Street,**

**Calcutta.**



# THE JOURNAL OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

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VOL. VII

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No. 2

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## The Buddhist Monastery of Fondukistan

By J. HACKIN

(Concluded from JGIS., Vol. VII, No. 1)

### NICHE E

The niche E has happily preserved an important portion of its outer decoration and in particular the border of the scroll-pattern in the form of a simple ornamental arcade encircling the entrance of the niche (Fig. 21). The upper portion of the arcade, in double bracket, should have been surmounted by a spouting ribboned vase such as we have already found at Bāmiyān (Caves I, II, V & XI) and to which we have alluded while considering the niche C of the sanctuary of Fondukistan. The scroll-patterns forming the frame (Fig. 22) offer this peculiarity of having the extremities slightly dented; a detail which we have already noted while studying the decoration of certain caves of Bāmiyān situated near the statue of the Buddha of 53 metres (Caves I, II, V & XI) (see Fig. 23). As at Bāmiyān the leaf-shaped ornaments are poor enough; the volutes, however, are treated with greater ease. The scroll-patterns are surmounted by a thin line of flying birds (parrots). The horizontal portion of the scroll-patterns is supported by a pilaster of squat shaft surmounted by

a pseudo-Corinthian capital (Fig. 21), whose ornamentation could be compared with those of the capitals supporting the simple arcades of the caves already mentioned at Bāmiyān (Fig. 24). At Fondukistan the base of the pilaster rests upon a basement which simulates on a small scale a construction composed of several courses disposed in festoon-like ornaments. Between the pilaster and the entrance of the niche appear two mural paintings, a Bodhisattva on the left of the statue at the base (Fig. 25) and a Buddha on the right. The Bodhisattva of a clear complexion and seated in the posture of royal relaxation is figured against an aureole of vivid red; the head slightly bent towards the right is framed by a green nimbus of water encompassed with white; the right hand raised to the height of the shoulder holds a blue lotus (*utpala*); the middle and little fingers of the left hand hold the neck of a vase adorned with cabochons and provided with a spout. The lower part of the body is draped in a striped *dhoti*. The torso is nude. The ornaments partly resemble those which we have had occasion to describe (*devatās* of niche D). Nevertheless the ornaments which encircle the cabochons of the bracelet-armlets and of the central motif of the diadem are not joined together; they are independent of one another. The ear-pendants which are circular are of large dimensions. A chain formed of circles of beautiful eyes goes upon the left shoulder and glides from the right shoulder upon the forearms. The blue lotuses appear in the hair; a white ribbon stretches out on the left of the head of the Bodhisattva; the tracing of the nose appears to be simplified in the extreme (a small hook). The eyes with prominent pupils are surrounded with black. The group is specially remarkable for the boldness of contrasted styles; the contours are traced with a very marked sharpness and insistence; the left arm which should have rested on the knee is treated with a certain clumsiness; it is well bent but it rests without support. This image continues, in spite of its clumsiness and an extreme mannerism, the



Fig. 21



Fig. 22





Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25

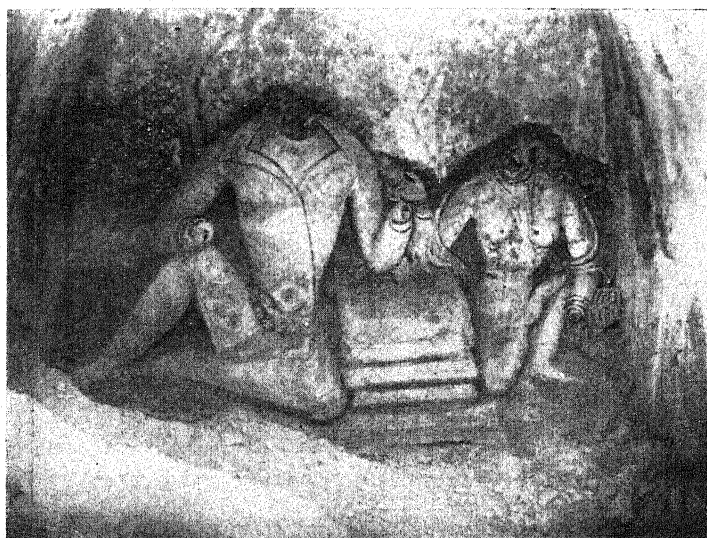


Fig. 26



Fig. 27

charm and grace of Indian models of the sixth century (Magadha), and it could be compared with certain Tibetan paintings specially of a White Tārā. The sources of Indian inspiration of these Tibetan images may obviously be assigned to the same epoch as the paintings of Fondukistan (7th century A. C.). The painting which is found on the other side of the entrance of the niche depicts a Buddha seated under the Bodhi tree; the subject is very much damaged.

The excavation of niche E led to the discovery of two statues placed against the same base of the niche; we have here two figures, a man and a woman (Fig. 26) separated by a pile of four cushions upon which they are leaning. The heads have disappeared; the right down-turned leg of the male is in the vertical position, while the left leg rests horizontally in a flat position; the torso remains erect in such a way that the figure, for avoiding the fatigue which such a posture could not fail to cause, has to rest a portion of the weight of the torso upon his elbow sustained by the pile of cushions. This posture is that which was affected by certain kings of the Sassanide dynasty; a piece of goldsmith's work furnishes us with a characteristic illustration of an analogous scene exhibiting likewise a pile of cushions (*bālīs*), six for the king, two only for the queen<sup>13</sup>; but here the king is turned towards the queen who is found

13 Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Berlin, 1923, tf. III: Sasanidische Silber-schüssel, V Jahrhundert, König Jesdegerd II (438-478 n. Chr.) oder König Balasch (484-489) mit der Königin, Kunst-handel. At present the piece belongs to the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. See also on this subject the observations of Professor E. Herzfeld, *Khusrau Parwez und der Tāq-i-Vastān*, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, Bd. IX, Heft II, pp. 119-121. The object is also reproduced with post-Sassanide dating in volume IV of the *Survey of Persian Art* by A. Upham Pope and P. Akkerman, 1938, Pl. 230, A (with Bahrām Gur and Sapinūd).

on his right (Fig. 27). The king wears boots, which is also the case with Fondukistan. The vestment is a long and well-adjusted tunic opened at the chest and provided with a large tight collar. This tunic was ornamented with circular medallions fringed with a row of large pearls. Inside the medallions are inscribed scarcely visible motifs of birds and human mascarons (?). The whole of this decoration accords with the distinctly Iranian costume. A waist-band made of cabochons encircled with pearls covers the figure with particular tightness. The torso which widens itself appears extremely stretched out. The trousers are slightly folded. The tunic worn by the princely figure of Fondukistan resembles, through the style of vestment of the kneeling personage, the bearer of a plate of offerings represented at the end of the left lateral wall which sheltered the Buddha of 53 metres.<sup>14</sup> This vestment clearly differs from the tunics with which are clothed the figures of the donors disposed upon the left lateral wall and upon the right and left of the niche of the Buddha of 35 metres. In this last case the donors wear tunics with a single facing or tunics without facing, upon which could be seen the sort of shoulder-belts of which the straps are fixed in the middle of a girdle placed over the body.<sup>15</sup> A similar apparatus was current at the epoch of Shāpūr II (309-379 A.C.) and of Shāpūr III<sup>16</sup> (383-388 A.C.), that is, anterior to the representations at Fondukistan and at the niche of the great Buddha at Bāmiyān. The female figure with harmonious forms, thin waist, round shoulders, opulent chest, is clearly Indian in aspect; the examination of the ornaments enforces

<sup>14</sup> J. Hackin et J. Carl, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Bāmiyān*, Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>15</sup> A. et Y. Godard et J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān*, Pl. XXIII.

<sup>16</sup> See the representation of Shāpūr II and Shāpūr III at Tāq-i-Bostān, J. Hackin et J. Carl, *Recherches archéologiques au col de Khair Khaneh*, pl. II.



Fig. 28

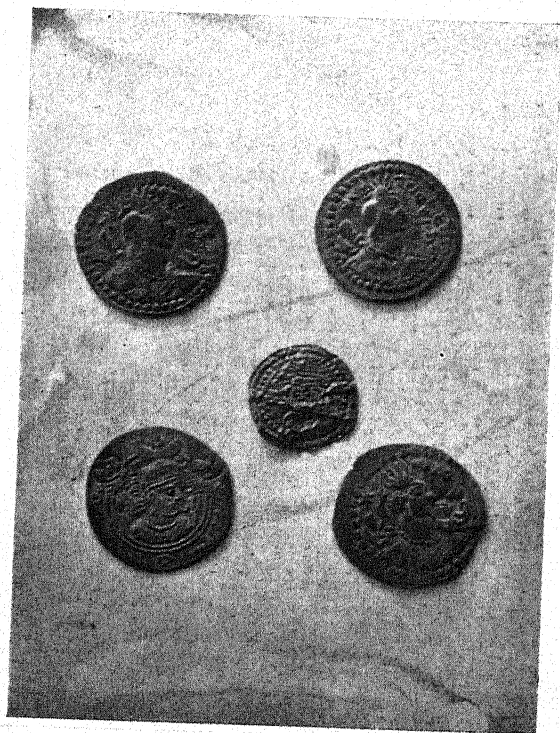


Fig. 29





Fig. 30



Fig. 31

this first impression. These are the necklaces of pearls to which is joined a long chain of pearls to which again were fixed on the outer side the circular cabochons surrounded with pearls. The bracelets, double at the wrist, are composed of pearls. A light scarf covers the shoulders. The lower part of the body is draped in a *dhoti*. The torso appears to be nude. We do not notice at the armpit the light folds which appear on the two busts which we shall have occasion to describe. Under the figure of the princely personage was found a funerary urn (Fig. 28) containing besides the ashes two drachmae with the effigy of the Sassanide king Chosroës Parwez (590-627 A. C.), a small unidentified coin and several bronze coins of a *šar* of Gharjistan<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 29). Another funerary urn enveloped in a white silk stuff without ornaments, was concealed in the turning of the wall (lateral right wall of the niche) (Fig. 28). The paintings which adorned the base of the niche had suffered much. Two female figures, one with a clear complexion, the other with a dark skin, appeared to come out of the background on a seed-bed of four leaves. The circular ear-pendants appeared large. The white female wears a striped *dhoti* (Fig. 30). Both figures have the nude torso. The breasts are particularly developed. The style is clearly Indian.

Fixed from one part to another against the lateral right and left walls appeared the female busts as coming out above a drapery (Fig. 31). The original blue and red colour and the light folds appearing at the height of the

17 "The word *šar* is mentioned by Mussalman authors as being the title of the king of Gharjistan, a region which, according to Tabari, formed a portion of the empire of the Hephthalites." Cited by J. D. Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale, de l'antiquité et du Moyen-Age*, publication achevée sous la direction de K. J. Basmadjian, fs III, p. 453. It should be noted that the pieces with the effigy of Khosroës II and of the *šar* of Gharjistan bear in addition the marks struck to the bodkin.



armpits show that these torsos were not nude but dressed in a light and transparent stuff upon which was laid out the chain of a type identical with what we have mentioned while describing the princely female figure. The group is distinctly Indian. The drapery marking the transition between the surface of the wall and the bust treated in high relief does not represent a new element for us; we have already observed it at Bāmiyān (Group of Caves C); but at Bāmiyān only the trace of the bust survives, the drapery being still visible (Fig. 32). It is evident that the momentary and apparitional character of these figures is opposed to the static and congealed character of the princely couple; this drapery so much reduced should apparently be derived from the thick draperies representing veritable clotures which appear on certain Graeco-Buddhist bas-reliefs, specially upon a frieze of Buddhas and their assistants found at Sikri and published by M. A. Foucher.<sup>18</sup> At Sikri the figures appear behind the drapery and partly concealed by this drapery. At Fondukistan the drapery is treated like a veritable support.

#### NICHE K

The niche K originally formed one of the corridors of access to the sanctuary; in walling up the corridor a niche had been constructed which was not very deep. Some fragments of statues and vestiges of mural paintings were there brought to light. On the lateral right wall were found some particularly interesting figures of the lunar and solar divinities (Fig. 33). The lunar deity with haggard face appeared on the left; he wears a diadem with three crescents such as we have observed at Bāmiyān. The nimbus is emphasised by a crescent. The circular ear-pendants are ornamented with pearls. The black and long hair rests upon the shoulders. The long tunic with double facing is tightly attached to the body by a black belt ornamented

<sup>18</sup> *A.G.B.G.*, I, fig. 136.

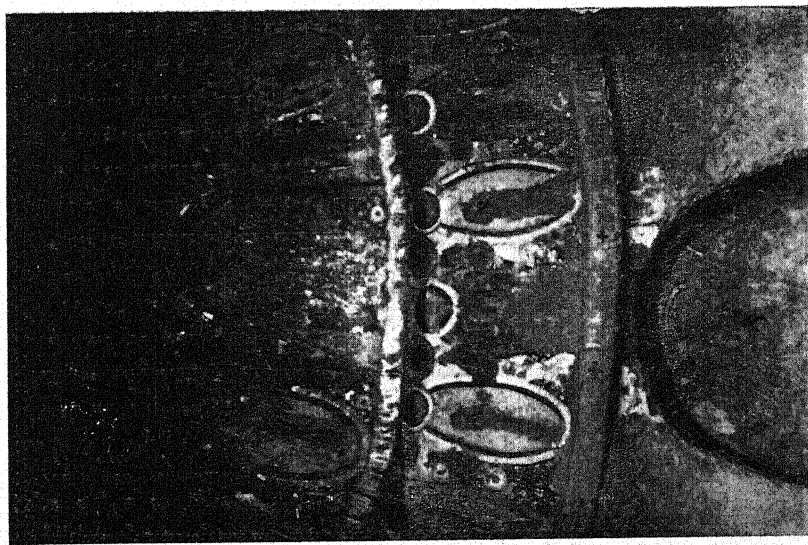


Fig. 32

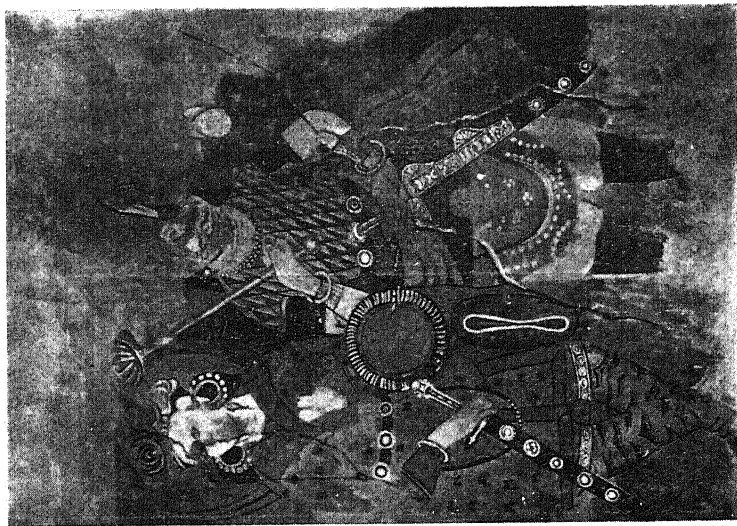


Fig. 33



Fig. 34

with cabochons lined with white; the scabbard of the long straight sword is also ornamented with medallions. A small round buckler is attached to the left arm. We must finally mention the gaiters of tiger-skin (?) adorned with a border of oval ornaments. The moustached solar deity has a nimbus of red disc; the upper part of the face has disappeared. He wears an armour protecting the torso; this portion of the armour is composed of metal-plaques in the form of lozenges; the lower part is formed of a veritable fabric of metallic scales protecting the abdomen; the lower vestment terminating like a round apron is visible and covers the trousers. The boots are black. The straight sword has a richly adorned scabbard. A sort of knobstick is held by the left arm. The two figures are already very Central Asian and it is interesting to recall the lunar deity with the haggard face who was found at the summit of the niche of the Buddha of 35 metres at Bāmiyān. Among the fragments of statuettes brought to light in clearing the niche K, we must mention very specially a head of marked originality (Fig. 34).

[ *TRANSLATED BY U. N. GHOSHAL* ]

## Hittite People and Language\*

*By* BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Sanskrit has long been regarded as the oldest Indo-European language, but now the pride of place must go to Hittite which Sommer has declared to be an "Indo-European language in its flexional structure." The Indo-European character of this language is not at all so obvious in other respects, and Sturtevant has actually suggested that Hittite should rather be regarded as a cognate to the original Indo-European and not to the Indo-European dialects collectively or severally. But it is precisely the grammatical structure which decides the affiliation of any particular language, for both phonology and vocabulary are to such a degree susceptible to extraneous influence that they may change beyond recognition within a comparatively short time, and syntax being concerned more with universal ideas than with particular forms can hardly serve as a criterion in this respect. Yet the evidence of phonology, vocabulary and syntax cannot be summarily dismissed as valueless if they all point in the same direction, particularly in the direction suggested by the flexional structure, as in the case of Hittite.

Hittite history will perhaps never be fully reconstructed, but it is definitely established to-day that for many centuries the Hittites held a mighty empire in Western Asia, and under Muršiliš I these hardy Cappadocian mountaineers actually conquered Babylonia about the middle of the 18th century B. C., thus putting an end to the dynasty of

\* This paper is a chapter of my forthcoming book "Survey of Indo-European Dialects." Students who might care to read this paper are expected to have first read my "Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit" published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.

Hammurapi. The most important events of the later Hittite empire are the battle of Kadeš between king Muwatalliš and Ramses II of Egypt (1305 B. C.), and Hattusil's treaty with the same Pharaoh in the twenty-first year of the latter's reign (1289 B. C.). The great Hittite emperor Šuppiluliumaš was a contemporary of Pharaoh Amenophis III (c. 1419-1384) and outlived also his successor (c. 1384-68).

In the earliest period the Hittites seem to have been divided into a number of city-states, the most important of them being Zalpa, Neša and Kuššar—each of which attained supremacy one after another and was undoubtedly influenced by the incredibly early Assyrian commercial settlements in Cappadocia. At the next stage the hegemony seems to have passed permanently to the kingdom of Hatti: the third Hatti ruler Muršiliš I actually conquered Babylon but could not retain it for a long time. This sudden expansion seems however to have been detrimental to the Hittite empire, for there followed a long period of anarchy which was put an end to by the wise ruler Telepinuš about 1650 B.C. The history of the older Hittite empire ends abruptly at this point. After almost a complete blank of two centuries the Hittites again emerge on the stage of history—this time to fight against Mitanni, the most powerful State founded by the Hurrians in northern Mesopotamia. The great age of Hittite history was reached under the rule of Šuppiluliumaš (1395-55 B. C.) who made the conquered Mitanni-kingdom a buffer state against the rising power of Aššur. But danger came from the quarter whence it was least expected: it came from the country of Ahhijawā on the western fringe of the Peninsula, and from Arzawa in the south. There was a mighty coalition of Ahhijawā, Arzawa and other countries of Asia Minor against the Hittite king Arnuwandaš (C. 1230-15). This was the beginning of the end to all appearance. The state which even after Suppiluliumaš was undoubtedly the greatest power in western Asia for more than a century,

thus came to an abrupt and inglorious end, and so completely disappeared from history that practically nothing was known about its people until quite in recent times modern archaeologists and philologists made them directly speak to us.

The Hittite language, though not its name, was discovered by Knudzon in 1902 from two letters excavated at Tell-el-Amarna. These are usually called the Arzawa-letters, because one of them is from Amenophis III of Egypt to Tarhundaraba, the king of Arzawa. The scanty material of these two letters was enough to convince Knudzon that the language in which they were composed was Indo-European. It was possible to decipher these letters only because they are full of Sumero-Akkadian ideogrammes which left little doubt as to the general tenor of their contents. Abundant material for systematic study of the language was however soon available when Winckler after his epoch-making excavations at Boghaz-köi unearthed the State-archives of the Hittite emperors. Yet little progress was made in Hittite studies, for Winckler fell ill and died (1913), and after his death the Boghaz-köi records were relegated to Assyriologists in consideration of the cuneiform script in which they are written. But the Assyriologists could not make much headway even though they could easily read the records and had at their disposal fragments of Akkado-Hittite bilingual texts. Yet, after all, it was the Assyriologist Hrozný who in 1914 for the first time fully deciphered some Hittite texts, and even the warring world was startled by his announcement that the language deciphered by him is Indo-European. Since then Hittite studies have progressed by leaps and bounds.

It has been said above that Assyriologists *could* easily read the Hittite texts written in cuneiform script. This statement is to be taken literally, for even now there are differences of opinion as to how particular signs *should* be read. The Hittites had adopted the Akkadian cuneiform system for writing their language, but that system consists of a number



of syllabic signs. The sounds constituting syllables had not been isolated by the Akkadians, so that the Hittites using their script had to take recourse to various make-shifts when any combination of the syllabic signs at their disposal could not give an accurate picture of the sounds they wished to express. And the Akkadian syllabic signs were such that many common sounds or sound-combinations could not be expressed by them, although the Hittites used no less than one hundred and thirty-seven such signs. On the other hand, many words could be, and used to be, written in various ways by means of these borrowed syllabic signs.

First and foremost, it is impossible to express initial or final double-consonance, or tri-consonance, by means of the Akkadian syllabary used by the Hittites—for the simple reason that no sign of this syllabary begins or ends with double consonance. This serious flaw in the system had however no significance for Sumero-Akkadian, which had no consonant-groups at the beginning or end of a word and no groups of more than two consonants in the interior of a word. But that was not at all the case with Hittite. Unetymological and unpronounced vowels had therefore to be frequently introduced by the Hittites into the graphic forms of words of their language. Thus the prefix *pra* (<I. E. \**pro*) could not be expressed in Hittite writing because it begins with the consonant-group *pr*. The graphic form of Hittite *pra* is in fact *pa-ra-a* (three signs). Mute vowels had to be introduced into written forms also when words ended with consonant-groups (e.g. *e-eš-ta* for *ēst*) or contained groups of three consonants (e.g. *li-in-iḫ-ta* for *liḫt*). It is clear that no homogeneous system of spelling could be maintained in this state of things. Thus the word *tametaz*, for example, could be written *ta-me-ta-az*, *tam-e-ta-az*, *ta-me-it-az*, etc. The first problem confronting the student of Hittite is therefore to determine the non-phonetic pleonastic vowels present in the graphic form of almost every word. Moreover, the Hittites were



averse to beginning a word only with a vowel-sign or a syllabic sign beginning with a vowel. In writing words beginning with a vowel, it was their custom to use both the vowel-sign and a syllabic sign beginning with the same vowel; thus *a-ak-te-ni* = *akteni*, *u-un-na-i* = *unai*. It will be clear from this that even though the script was known it was by means an easy job to determine the phonetic values of particular written forms.

Hittite borrowings from the Akkadians were not confined merely to the syllabic symbols discussed above. Akkadian words were freely used by the Hittites as ideogrammes, and that for some of the commonest words of their language. We do not even know the Hittite word for 'king', for it is always represented ideographically by Sumerio-Akkadian LUGAL. For the same reason, the Hittite words for 'god' and 'son' are yet unknown, for the Hittites used in their documents only the Akkadian graphic forms of these words, which they however doubtless read not as the Akkadians themselves would read them, but according to the sound-values of the corresponding Hittite words. But the Akkadians themselves used Sumerian word-symbols ideographically in their language. Thus sometimes we find beside the phonetically-written Hittite word also the corresponding Sumerian and Akkadian forms—as, for instance, Hit. *ki-eš-šar*, Sumerian ŠU and Akkadian QA.TU, all pronounced *kesar* and meaning 'hand'.\* In writing their own language the Akkadians often added Akkadian phonetic endings to Sumerian ideogrammes, and this too was faithfully copied by the Hittites, to whom however not only the Sumerian part but the whole of the word (Sum. ideogramme + Akk. phonetic ending) was an ideogramme. Thus beside the above-mentioned forms ŠU and QA.TU. a Sumerio-Akkadian mixed form like ŠU.TU was

\* In the system of transcription now universally accepted, the Sumerian ideogrammes are represented by erect capitals and the Akkadian ones by slanting capitals.

also possible in Hittite writing. The Sumerians employed in their writing also a number of determinatives, usually prefixed, which however were never pronounced, their function being merely to modify the meaning of the word governed by it in a particular way. Thus the sign SAL 'woman' may be prefixed to the designation of a woman's occupation. Along with the Sumerian ideogrammes the Hittites borrowed from the Akkadians also these non-phonetic Sumerian determinatives. Thus the determinative UZU, meaning 'part of the body', may be prefixed to ŠU 'hand'. In transcribed Hittite texts these determinatives are written with raised capital letters, e.g., <sup>uzn</sup>ŠU, the whole complex, read as *ḫesar* by Hittites themselves, meaning "the hand which is a part of the body".

This is the system of older Hittite writing which, apart from the Sumero-Akkadian ideogrammes without any phonetic Hittite equivalents, can be read, though in many cases we are far from certain as to how they actually used to be read by the Hittites. For it is not always safe to assume for Hittite the same phonetic value which the syllabic signs enjoyed in the parent Akkadian language. Thus the Akkadian sign for *z* (sonant dental sibilant) was used by the Hittites to represent the fricative *ts*, and Akkadian *š* in their language assumed the value of *s*. The value of Akkadian *h* in Hittite is still a matter of dispute. The exact timbre of Akkadian vowels in Hittite will perhaps never be determined, and for their quantity too it is anything but certain that they were long in all those cases where they are written double; cf., e.g. *e-eš-zi*=Skt. *as-ti* < I.-E. *\*es-ti*.— Later Hittites, from about 800 B. C., began to use a system of hieroglyphs for writing their language. The clue to this "hieroglyphic Hittite" has not yet been found.

In the field of vocalism Hittite ranges itself definitely on the side of the western Indo-European languages, for unlike Indo-Iranian it retains the vowel *e* distinct from *a*; cf. Hit. *esmi*, Gr. *eimí*, Lith. *esmù*; Skt. *ás-mi*; Hit. *et* "to

eat' : Skt. *ad* ; Hit. *seszi* : Skt. *sasti* "sleeps" ; Hit. *nepiš*, Lat. *nebu(la)* : Skt. *nābhas* ; Hit. *wek-* : Skt. *vaś-* (cf. Gr. *hekōn*) ; Hit. *eshar*, Gr. *éar* : Skt. *asṛk* ; Hit. *mekis*, Gr. *mégas* : Skt. *mah-* etc. On account of the imperfect system of writing it is not possible to determine whether I.-E. *ē* had retained its length in Hittite ; both the roots \**es-* (Skt. *as-*) and \**ēs-* (Skt. *ās-*), for instance, are written in the same way in Hittite.—I.-E. *a* remains unchanged in Hittite. Cf. Hit. *apa* : Skt. *apa*, Gr. *apó* ; Hit. *harkis* 'white,' Skt. *arjuna*, Gr. *argós*, etc. As the written forms afford no clue as to the length of the vowels, it is impossible to say whether I.-E. *a* retained its length in Hittite. Its quality at all events remained unchanged. Cf. Hit. *stapi* : Skt. *sthāpayati* ; Hit. *tazezi* 'steals' : Skt. *tau*, etc.—The third normal vowel *e* becomes *a* in Hittite, which in this respect may therefore be said to side with Indo-Iranian : Hit. *hastai* : Skt. *asthi* but Gr. *ostéon* ; Hit. *pra*, Skt. *pra*, but Gr. *pró*, etc. I.-E. long *ō* appears as *a* in Hittite, which may be read long, e.g. Hit. *laman* (with dissimilation) 'name' : Lat *nōmen*. Both the extreme vowels *i* and *u* remain unchanged in Hittite. The Skt. primary personal endings *-mi* *-si* *-ti* and *-nti* have their exact counterparts in Hit. *-mi*, *-si* *-zi* and *-nzi*; the Indo-Iranian imperative endings *-tu* and *-ntu* have outside parallels only in Hit. ; cf. further Hit. *yukan* : Skt. *yugam*, Hit. *kenu* : Skt. *jānu*, Hit. *nu* : Skt. *nu*, etc.

In dealing with the descendants of the easily contractible I.-E. diphthongs in the various dialects we have to be doubly cautious. For when comparing a dialectical form with the corresponding basic I.-E. form, it is not at all safe to equate straightway an I.-E. diphthong contained in the latter with whatever may seem to occupy its place in the former, for the two sounds may be of different ablaut-grades. It is assumed, for want of anything better, that if the forms compared are of the same grammatical category, then also the roots contained in them will be of the same ablaut-grade. This is no doubt probable, but still far from

certain. We can be tolerably certain only where we have the additional testimony of accent. But of Hittite accent we know nothing. The following treatment of I.-E. diphthongs in Hittite should therefore be regarded as tentative. Hit. *luḫzi*, for instance, certainly corresponds to Skt. *rocate*. But it cannot be safely assumed on the basis of this and similar etymologies that Hittite *u* corresponds to Skt. *o* (<I.-E. *eu*), for the Hittite word may contain the reduced-grade form of the root which appears in its normal grade in the Skt. word.

All short *i*-diphthongs become *e* (often written *i*) in Hittite as in Skt. Thus the I.-E. medial ending *-tai* (=Gr. *-tai*) in third person singular appears as *-te* in Hittite. It is true that this ending often appears also as *-ti*, but this must be an orthographical make-shift of which we have seen so much above, for I.-E. *ti* phonologically becomes *tsi* (written *zi*) in Hittite. Examples like Hit. *ḫemanz* (written *gi-im-ma-an-za*) 'winter' corresponding to Skt. *hemanta*, Gr. *ḫeīma* and Hit. *ḫeta* 'lies' corresponding to Skt. *śete*, Gk. *ḫeītai* conclusively prove the transformation of I.-E. *ei* into *e* in Hittite. The same change for I.-E. *oi* is proved by the Hittite pronominal exclitics *me*, *te*, corresponding to Skt. *me*, *te* and Gr. *moí* *toí*.—Short *u*-diphthongs on the other hand become *u* in Hittite, but it is not impossible that this *u* was an open sound approaching *o*; cf. Hit. *luḫzi*: Skt. *rocate*, Gr. *leuḫós*; Hit. *arnuzi*: Skt. *ṛṇóti*. Comparison of grammatical forms of similar categories seems to suggest that I.-E. long *i*-diphthongs have become *ai* and I.-E. long *u* diphthongs have become *au* in Hittite. This is the general position also of Skt.

The semi-vowels on the whole are well-preserved in Hittite. Thus *ḫ* in *yukan*: Skt. *yugam*, *yatari*: Skt. *yāti*, etc. (Intervocalic *ḫ* however is often lost as also in many other I.-E. dialects.) The same is the case with I.-E. *y*, cf. Hit. *watar*: Eng. *water*; Hit. *wasi* 'buys': Skt. *vas-nayati*; Hit. *weti*: Skt. *vat-sara*, Lat. *vetus*; Hit. *weḫzi*: Skt. *vaṣṭi*.

Not only I.-E. *r* but also *ṛ* seems to be preserved in Hittite, though the graphic forms are always misleading. Variant orthographic forms of the same word however often clearly indicate the syllabic character of the *r* in question. Thus the three variant forms *pa-ap-ri-iš-zi*, *pa-ap-ra-as-zi* and *pa-ap-par-as-zi* can but be imperfect representations of *paprzi*. In the same way, Hit. *parkuš* and *Artasšumara* seem to correspond to Skt. *bhṛgu* and *Rtasmara* respectively. But it is important to remember in this connection that the syllabic *r*, not only in Hittite, but in other I.-E. dialects as well, might have been preceded or followed, or both, by a feeble vowel. On the analogy of syllabic *r*, a syllabic *l* too is assumed to have existed in Hittite, but the evidence for it is far from satisfactory.—Ablaut-relations between congeneric Hittite forms being largely blurred through defective writing, it is hardly possible to draw a definite conclusion as to the existence or otherwise of syllabic nasals in Hittite. Yet I.-E. *ṛ* seems to have become *a* in Hit. (as in Skt.), for Skt. *tamas-* is met there by *tas-* <*tms-*. I.-E. *ṛ* on the other hand developed into *an*; thus Hit. *anzas* “we, us”: I.-E. *\*ṛs*: Skt. *nas*; the Hit. medial ending *-anta* in third person plural corresponds to Skt. *-ate* <*\*I.-E. -ṛtai*.

Hittite throws welcome light on the vexed problem of Indo-European gutturals. It is usually assumed that the original I.-E. possessed three series of gutturals (see my *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, p. 9), but the claim of pure velars to be considered as an independent series of gutturals rests on a very slender basis indeed. The chief problem for us in this regard is to decide whether the original I.-E. possessed a series of labio-velars distinct from the palatals, *i.e.*, whether the earliest Indo-Europeans could and did pronounce a labio-velar immediately before a palatal vowel and a palatal immediately before a guttural vowel. Present-day speakers of I.-E. dialects cannot pronounce such sound-combinations. Would it then be proper to ascribe such hypothetical sound-combinations to the

original Indo-European? Would it not be more advisable to assume that although already in the pre-Indo-European epoch the gutturals were split up into labio-velars and palatals, the former were yet invariably followed by guttural vowels and the latter invariably by palatal ones, and that only at the later Indo-European stage, through analogical transfer perhaps, palatal vowels began to take position also after labio-velars and guttural vowels after palatals? This is what is suggested by the Hittite gutturals. In Hittite, *k<sup>w</sup>* represents I.-E. *k<sup>w</sup>*, and there is nothing to show that the *w* of this combination was not a full-fledged semi-vowel, which as usual, often changed into *u*. Thus Hit. *ku-iš*: Lat. *quis* < I.-E. \**k<sup>w</sup>is*; Hit. *ku-na-an-zi* (*kunanzi*): Skt. *ghnanti* < I.-E. \**g<sup>w</sup>hnenti*. Akkadian signs for *ku*, *kur* always stand for fully independent syllables, and it is highly improbable that Hittite scribes in giving the graphic form of the descendant of I.-E. *k<sup>w</sup>* in their language would have used those signs if the sound in question was really different from *k<sup>w</sup>*. If the sound *k<sup>w</sup>* was actually present in Hittite we should rather expect *ku-wa-na-an-zi* instead of *ku-na-an-zi* as the graphic form of the Hittite representative of I.-E. \**g<sup>w</sup>hnenti*. This is however never found. It is therefore permissible to assume with Sturtevant (§ 54a) that the labio-velars as such were a later development of the Indo-European state, because their existence as separate independent sounds before the parent Indo-European language separated from the basic Indo-Hittite is yet to be proved.

The above and other examples show that Hit. *k<sup>w</sup>* (*ku* before consonants) corresponds to I.-E. *k<sup>w</sup>*. But the Hittite sound corresponding to I.-E. *g<sup>w</sup>* is *w*, I.-E. *gu* being met by *ku* in Hit.; cf. Hit. *wem-*: Skt. *gam-* (*g<sup>w</sup>em-*), but Hit. *kutar* 'neck': Lat. *guttur* 'throat' (I.-E. *gut-*). Hit. *w* and *ku* correspond to I.-E. *g<sup>w</sup>h*. Thus Hit. *war-* 'to burn': Skt. *har-* (Gr. *ther-mós*) < I.-E. \**g<sup>w</sup>her-*, but Hit. *kwen*: Skt. *han-* < I.-E. \**g<sup>w</sup>hen-*.

I.-E. palatal occlusives had not been spirantised in Hittite as in the *Satəm*-languages and in this respect too

Hittite is to be ranged with the western I.-E. dialects. Thus Hit. *ḫeta*, Gr. *ḫētai*: Skt. *śete*; Hit. *weḫzi*: Skt. *vaṣṭi* (<*vaś-ti*); Hit. *ḫartis*: Lith. *szirdis* (connected with Skt. *hṛd-*). A non-palatal pure velar is to be found in Hit. *luḫate*: Skt. *rocate* (cf. Gr. *leukós*). The I.-E. inchoative suffix *-skh-* appears as *-sk-* Hittite, as is proved by the examples Hit. *arsḫezi*: Skt. *ṛcchati*, and Hit. *usḫezi*: Skt. *ucchati*. I.-E. *ḡ* appears as *ḫ* in Hit. Thus Hit. *ḫenu*: Avestan *ḡnu*, Skt. *jānu*; Hit. *yūḫan*: Skt. *yugam*; Hit. *hark-is*: Skt. *arj-una*, etc. I.-E. *ḡh* too is represented by the same *ḫ*, as in Hit. *ḫemanz*: Skt. *hemanta*, Gr. *ḫheĩma*; Hit. *parkus*: Skt. *bṛhant-*, Avestan *bṛṛzant*; Hit. *talukaes*: Skt. *dīrgha*, Gr. *dolikhós*.

As for the dentals, I.-E. *t* is retained in Hittite excepting before palatal vowels where it becomes *ts* (written *z*); thus I.-E. *\*es-enti*, Skt. *santi*: Hit. *asanzi*. This change was carried on further in non-Doric Greek dialects which changed I.-E. *ti* into *si*. I.-E. *d* was hardened into *t* in Hittite. Thus I.-E. *\*ed-* "to eat": Hit. *et-*; Hit. *teḫ-*: Skt. *diś-*; Hit. *taru*: Skt. *dāru*; Hit. *watar*: Gr. *húdōr*. I.-E. *dh* too appears as *t* in Hit., e.g. Hit. *it*: Skt. *ihí*, Gr. *ít̥hi*; Hit. *utne*: Skt. *ūdhar*, Gr. *oūthar*, etc.—Various sounds have developed in the I.-E. dialects as the result of the collision of dentals. I.-E. *-tt-* is retained in Skt., but in Greek it normally becomes *-st-* and in Lat. *-ss-*. Before the Hittite language was discovered it was therefore necessary to assume that I.-E. *tt* had at first given rise to *tʰt*. Hittite proves that this assumption was correct. Thus I.-E. *\*et-ti* (<*\*ed-ti*): Hit. *ezzi*, which is but a defective writing for *ets-tsi*.

Hittite not having at its disposal any means of indicating the sound *b*, and all aspirated sounds being apparently de-aspirated in Hittite, there is but the sole sound *p* in Hittite to represent the whole I.-E. labial series. As for Hit. *p*=I.-E. *p*, we may consider Hit. *pasi* (<*\*patsi* <*\*pati*): Skt. *pāti* 'drinks'; Hit. *stapi*: Skt. *sthāpayati*, etc. Examples of Hit. *p*=I.-E. *bh* are also quite unambiguous: Hit. *nepiš*: Skt. *nabhas*, Hit. *ḫrap-*: Skt. *grabh-* etc.



It will be clear from above that in writing at least the Hittites made no distinction between *t* and *d*, *k* and *g*, *p* and *b*. But does it justify the assumption that instead of four occlusives in each series the Hittites had only one? The facts however are not so simple. It is true that *ta* and *da*, *ka* and *ga* are practically interchangeable in Hittite writing. But we have also to note that the Hittites wrote almost exclusively *ti* and *ki*, and very rarely *di* and *gi*. The imperative ending on the other hand is mostly written *du* and rarely *tu*. It would therefore be hazardous to declare that the Hittites, like the speakers of many non-Indo-European languages, had only one dental, one palatal, etc. It is not impossible that what to us appears as the simplification of I.-E. system of occlusives was in fact nothing but an uncompleted sound-shift.—Hittite *h* is a problem by itself. Examples like Hit. *harkis*: Gr. *argós*, Hit. *hastai*: Skt. *ásthi*, Hit. *hwekzi*: Skt. *vákṭi*, etc. seem to suggest that in some cases at least the Hit. *h* is unetymological. In the written forms of these and other words the Hittite *h* seems to indicate a strong expiratory accent and nothing more. In modern German, for instance, which is characterised by a very pronounced expiratory accent, an unetymological *h* is distinctly heard at the beginning of many words commencing with a vowel.

In the field of nominal flexion we have to note first of all that Hittite has completely given up the feminine gender and retains only faint traces of the dual number. It is perhaps unwise to say that the Hittite *dropped* the feminine gender, for we do not know whether the feminine gender had been developed in the basic language before Hittite separated from it. It is generally admitted—and that on good grounds—that the feminine gender was a later development in the original Indo-European. Because the feminine gender primarily conveys a negative idea and thus must have been developed later than its positive counterpart. When we say "man" we include in our idea not only men but women also, e.g., "man is mortal". But if we say



instead "woman is mortal", it might indirectly suggest that men are immortal! From the view-point of linguistic psychology therefore the feminine gender is a purely negative idea, for its function consists in specifying for a particular group its non-identity with a larger species, and the degree of specification thus achieved need not have been enough to make an independent grammatical category of this specified group.—It is otherwise with the dual number. The very existence of a grammatical dual number shows that the early Indo-Europeans could not abstract the universal out of particulars so long as the number of such particulars was confined to two. But they were able to abstract the universal if there were three particulars present—after which specification was no longer necessary. That is why the plural number begins with three in I.-E. languages. It is also natural to expect that the more primitive an I.-E. tribe, the greater will be its need for the dual number. The Hittites as the oldest known I.-E. tribe therefore may be expected to have retained it. But they have not. Like most other I.-E. languages, Hittite too, with a few doubtful exceptions (Sturtevant § 184), has done away with the grammatical dual number.

In case-system Hittite is not so conservative as Skt. Excluding vocative, which in Hittite has coincided with nominative, Hittite shows six distinct cases, namely, nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive. Formantically the Hittite instrumental developed out of original ablative and it is no wonder therefore that in Hittite syntax ablative and instrumental are often interchangeable. A similar syncretism is to be observed also with regard to original dative and locative: in Hittite the original locative, though retaining its own ending, has been functionally completely merged in the dative.—The nominative singular of every masculine stem ends in *s*, e.g., *ata-s*, *supi-s*, etc., and the corresponding ending in accusative is *n<m*. Neuter *a*-stems take the ending *n<m* in nom.-acc. sg. Even more characteristically Indo-European are the

neuter *r/n* stems, e.g., nom. *watar*: gen. *wetas*. "The gen. sing normally ends in *-as* whatever the stem final may be" (Sturtevant). Thus from *tuzis* and *asus* the forms in gen. sg. are *tuziyas* and *asuwas* respectively. These are evidently forms of the *flexion forte*, lingering traces of which may be found in the oldest Skt. (see my *Linguistic Introduction to Skt.*, p. 132). The dative sg. of *a*-stems usually ends in *e*: formantically the forms in question are nothing but locatives. The ablative sing. ends in *-z*, which is perhaps the nil-grade form of the I.-E. ablative suffix *-tos*. In instr. sg. Hittite *a*-stems end in *-et*: this is to be directly connected with the I.-E. abl. ending *-ed* (cf. Skt. *paśc-āt*, Lat. *facilumēd*). The ending in nom. pl. masc. is *-es*, and thus in complete agreement with Sanskrit; but the acc. pl. masc. ends in *-us*.—Indo-European dialects are sometimes divided into two groups according as the dual and plural endings in instr., dat. and abl. begin with *bh* or *m* (see my *Linguistic Introduction to Skt.*, p. 16). Hittite however shows no trace of these consonantal endings, which therefore should have been of later origin. —In Hit. pronominal flexion, as in that of other I.-E. languages, there is a standing interplay of various stems within the same paradigm, and personal endings are almost wholly wanting.

The I.-E. verbal system has been greatly simplified in Hit. Besides the active voice, the medio-passive has still been retained in it, but of the rich I.-E. temporal and modal system nothing has been left but a present and a preterite in the indicative, and an imperative. Future is expressed by present forms. Of secondary conjugations we have two in Hittite, namely, causative and iterative. There is also a periphrastic perfect, formed with the auxiliary verb *har(k)*- "to have." On the other hand, Hittite shows some striking innovations in the verbal system. The active personal endings of the present are:—

- |                                    |                                |                               |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. sg. <i>mi</i> , <i>-hi</i>      | 2. sg. <i>-si</i> , <i>-ti</i> | 3. sg. <i>-zi</i> , <i>-i</i> |
| 1. pl. <i>-weni</i> , <i>-meni</i> | 2. pl. <i>-teni</i>            | 3. pl. <i>-nzi</i>            |

Of these endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-zi* and *-nzi* are quite transparent and need no explanation. But the ending *-hi* in the first person sing. offers a seemingly insoluble problem (see Sturtevant § 401). According as the first person singular takes the ending *-mi* or *-hi*, the Hittite verbal stems are divided into *mi*-conjugation and *hi*-conjugation respectively. Of the endings *-weni*, *-meni*, the latter is probably an analogical modification of the I.-E. plural ending *-mes* after *-teni*, which is to be connected with Vedic *-thana*. Corresponding to *-weni* and *-teni* we have the preterital endings *-wen* and *-ten*. Linguistically the most important preterital ending is *-er* of the third person pl. of the *hi*-conjugation: it is in origin the I.-E. perfect ending of 3. pl.; cf. Skt. *dad-ur*, Lat. *amav-ere*, tokh. *weñā-re*. In imperative the endings *-u* (3. sg.) and *-ndu* (3. pl.) are astonishing, for they prove that the deictic particle *u* had been permanently joined to the original injunctive forms long before the Indo-Iranian era (see LIS., pp. 39-40). The medio-passive *r*-endings, such as *-tari* (3. sg.) and *-ntari* (3. pl.) of the present, have their exact counterparts in Italo-Celtic and Tokharian; cf. Lat. *legi-tur*, *leg-untur*.—Of I.-E. verbal suffixes, *-sḥ* and *-nu* are well attested in Hittite. Hittite participles in *-nt* (*-anz*) are clearly reminiscent of Indo-European participles.

## A Rare Indian Temple-type in Cambodia\*

BY U. N. GHOSHAL

It is a well-known fact that classifications of types of temples (*prāsādas*) or of buildings in general (*vimānas*) form a conspicuous feature of the Indian treatises on Fine Arts (*Śilpāsāstras*). The schemes of classification in these works are not uniform, but are very various, depending as they do upon different principles of grouping. There is, first, the broad division into *nāgara*, *drāviḍa* and *vesara*, which may roughly be rendered as 'North Indian', 'Deccan' and 'Southern' styles. This division is found not only in *Mānasāra*, the standard work on Hindu architecture, but also in such compilations as the *Suprabhedāgama*, as is shown by reference to the valuable *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, by P. K. Acharya (s.v. *prāsāda*). The primarily geographical character of this classification is well brought out in a few verses of the recently published work, the *Śilparatna* (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXV) to which sufficient attention does not appear to have been given so far. The verses (*Pūrvabhāga* Ch. XVI, vv. 47-49) are as follows:—

*Himavad = Vindhyayor = madhyam sātṭvikam bhūtaḥ |*  
*smṛtam |*

*Vindhyaśailādi-Kṛṣṇāntam rājasam parikīrtitam ||*  
*Punaḥ Kṛṣṇādi-Kanyāntam tāmasam bhūtaḥ bhavet |*  
*Nāgaram sātṭvike deśe rājase drāviḍam bhavet ||*  
*Vesaram tāmasa deśe krameṇa parikīrtitāḥ |*

This may be freely rendered as follows: 'The tract between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas is one of goodness, that between the Vindhyas and the Kṛṣṇā is one of passion, while the country between the Kṛṣṇā and Cape

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Comorin is one of darkness. The *nāgara* style is said to prevail in the country of goodness, the *drāviḍa* style in the country of passion, and the *vesara* style in the country of darkness.'

Another important classification which the *Śilparatna* (p. 182) shares with the *Mānasāra* is into twelve groups ranging from buildings of one storey to those of twelve storeys. Each of these is again divided into a number of sub-groups making the huge total of ninety-eight types. (P. K. Acharya, *Dict. of Hindu Arch.*, s.v. *prāsāda*).

The chapters on architecture in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (died 587 A.C.) as well as those of Matsya and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas have in common another system of classification relating to the division of temples (*prāsādas*) into twenty types. (Refs. in *Dict. of Hindu Architecture*, loc. cit.) This division is based on the joint principles of height (16, 12, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 and 2 storeys), breadth (50, 43, 40, 34, 32, 30, 20, 16, 10, 8 and 4 cubits) and shape (those of the lion, the elephant, the bird, etc. and those having sixteen and eight angles). This curiously complex division is traced in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* to the still older work of Garga which is probably connected with the *Gārgya Saṃhitā* of which a Ms. is preserved in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge.

Yet another scheme of classification with which we are immediately concerned is found (with minor variations in the titles and descriptions of the types) in the architectural chapters of the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas. In these works the temples are divided into five types, called *Virāja*, *Puṣpaṇḍa*, *Kailāsa*, *Maṇiḥa* (in the Agni Purāṇa) [*Māliḥa* in the Garuḍa Purāṇa], and *Trivṛṣṭapa*. Of these the first is said to be a square (*caturaśra*), the second rectangular (*tadāyata*), the third circular (*vṛtta*), the fourth oval (*vṛttāyata*) and the last octangular (*aṣṭāśra*). Each of these five types is divided into nine sub-groups, bringing the total to forty-five. (For references, see P. K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, s. v. *prāsāda*). The same five-fold division is reproduced in an early mediaeval

work, the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, attributed to king Bhoja (probably the renowned Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa who reigned from c. 1010-1055 A.C.). In chapter 49 of this work we are told that the Lord Brahmā created the five classes of golden palaces (*vimānas*), viz., the *vairāja*, the *ṣailāsa*, the *puṣpaka*, the *maṇika*, and the *triviṣṭapa* for himself, for Śiva, for Kubera, for Varuṇa, and for Indra respectively. He also made temples of stone and burnt brick of the same types for the adornment of towns. These five types are said to have the same shapes, (square, rectangular, circular, oval and octangular), as the types of the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas. But while the earlier works mention only forty-five sub-types, the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra raises the number to sixty-four, by dividing the *vairāja* or square type into twenty-four sub-groups and the rest into ten each.

The nine sub-types of temples comprised in the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas under the head *vairāja* includes a class of which unfortunately we have different readings in different text-editions and Mss. of the same. It is called *nandaḥa* in the Poona edition of the Agni Purāṇa, while the Calcutta edition reads it as *nandiḥa*. The Calcutta edition of the Garuḍa Purāṇa gives the reading *nandana*. In different Mss. of the Agni Purāṇa referred to in the Poona edition the readings are given as *nandaḥa* and *nandana*. It is a curious fact that not a single concrete reference to this type has been found in the general or epigraphical literature of India and till lately in the literature of the countries influenced by Indian culture. Happily, this want has now been supplied by a recent discovery in Cambodia. In course of his works of clearance among the group of temples at Roluoh which belong to the reign of Indravarman I (877-889 A.C.), M. G.A. Trouvé discovered in 1932 and 1935 two inscribed foundation stèles of the temples of Práh Kô and Bàkoñ. These inscriptions have since been published by M. Çœdès in his very valuable corpus of inscriptions of Cambodia (*Inscriptions du Cambodge*, t. I, pp. 17 ff.) Stanza 34 of the Bàkoñ inscription, which follows



an enumeration of the pious acts of the king, runs as follows :—

*yāsyāmi sugatīm paśēd=astv=ayam lokanandanah |*  
*Iti=va sa dayāviṣṭaḥ kṛpayāmāsa nandiḥ ||*

What the poet intends to convey in this typical bit of *kāvya* is, as M. Coedès has well explained, that the king built a *nandiḥ* with the intention that it would become public after his death.

The above verse furnishes a happy instance of the way in which Indian archaeology and the archaeology of Greater India may be made to complete and supplement each other. In the first place, it definitely fixes *nandiḥ* as the correct designation of the type of temples of which the Indian Mss. and printed editions of the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas have given us several variant readings. In the second place, it helps to fix the lower limit of origin of this particular type of temples. If a *nandiḥ* could be built in distant Cambodia in the latter part of the ninth century, its beginnings in its original Indian home may safely be traced back at least to a century earlier. It may be recalled in this connection that small flat-roofed temples consisting of a cella with a terrace in front and often surrounded by a pillared hall are characteristic of a class of shrines in the Gupta period. Interesting examples of this kind are furnished by the temple No. 17 at Sanchi as well as the ruined temples at Bhumara and Nachna-Kuthara. We may safely classify such temples under the general head *vairāja* and even, as will be shown presently, under the sub-type *nandiḥ* or its parallels. The apsidal temples of the Gupta Age like those at Ter and Chezarla would belong to the general type *maṇiḥ* (or *mālikā*) of the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas.

We may next consider whether we can identify any of the known constructions of Indravarman I of Cambodia with the sub-type *nandiḥ*. M. Parmentier in his illuminating article on the art of Indravarman (BEFEO., t. XIX, p. 1 ff.) notices several characteristics of this art distinguishing it alike from the primitive and the classical

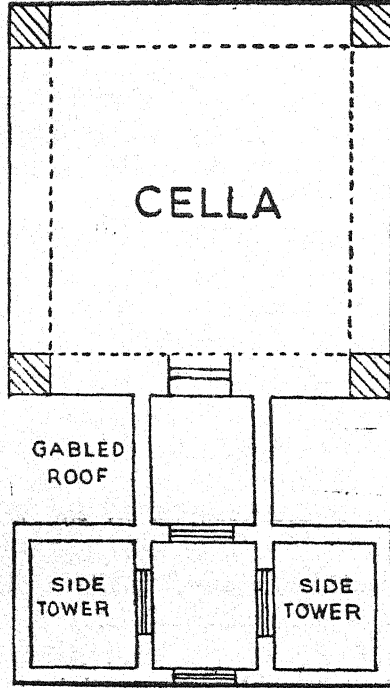
Khmer art. Among these features may be mentioned the system of isolated temples with side towers, the octagonal pillars, the decoration of entrepilasters and so forth. Frequent traces are also found in these constructions of terraces. It is easy to see that the square plan of Indravarman's buildings agrees with the general type *vairāja* above mentioned. Indeed, when M. Parmentier distinguishes (*op. cit.*, 66) the square plan of Indravarman's buildings from the rectangular structure of the primitive art, we may describe the contrast in the technical language of the Indian Śilpaśāstras. We may say that it marked the transition from the *puṣpaka* to the *vairāja* style of architecture. The side towers and the terraces present a more interesting problem. The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, as we have observed before, gives sixty-four sub-types (instead of the usual forty-five) of the five main groups of temples, and it adds a short description of each. One of the sub-types called *nandī* or *nanda* is described (*Ibid.*, ch. 49, vv. 89-91) as follows:

*ayam samantād-utkṣipto = vāhyā-lindam vinā yadā |*  
*madhyamā = linda-saudha (stha stham?)*  
*kaṇaprasādaḥkai = ścitah ||*  
*prathamā = lindagarbhau ca samutkṣiptatarau tataḥ |*  
*syātām chhādyadvaychchannauh tadā nando'*  
*bhidhīyate ||*

From the context it follows that this sub-class is taken by the author to be a modification of the one immediately described above, viz., *vijaya*, which again is a simplification of the preceding type *prthivijaya*. As we understand this difficult and obscure text, it seems that the characteristic features of the *nanda* type (according to the above-named authority) are as follows: cella resting on four pillars ("garbham catustambham" of the *prthivijaya* type), the third and outermost terrace (*alinda*) wanting, but still raised on all four sides above the ground level, the second and the middlemost terrace covered with side-towers, the first and innermost terrace raised higher up and covered



with double roofing (gabled roof?). We give below our conjectural reconstruction of this type : —



From the close similarity of names we may identify the *nandī* or *nanda* of the Samarāṅgaṇa with the *nandika* of the Agni and the Garuḍa Purāṇas. In that case the terraces and side-towers of Indravarman's buildings would fit in with the recorded descriptions of the *nandika-nandī-nanda* in the Indian technical treatises. That king Indravarman in all his constructions was not a mere copyist is shown by a significant verse in the same Bākoṇ inscription to which we have referred above. Stanza 8 of this inscription is as follows :

*śrīmatśimhāsanam śrīndra-yānam śrīndravimānaḥam |*  
*śrīndraprāsādaḥam haimam bheje yas=svadhiyā kṛtam||*

This evidently means that the king designed new types of conveyances (*yāna*), palaces (*vimāna*) and temples (*prāsāda*) which he called after his own name.

## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Recherches Archeologiques à Begram** Par J. Hackin avec la collaboration de Madame J. R. Hackin (**Memoires de la Delegation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan, Tome IX**), 2 Vols., Les editions d'Art et Histoire, Paris, 1939. Price not stated.

All students of Indian Art should be greatly indebted to Monseieur and Madame Hackin for bringing to light, and to the Delegation Archeologique Francaise for publishing, a series of valuable documents bearing on the history of the Mathura school of sculpture. During May to July 1927 Monsieur and Madame Hackin conducted certain excavations at an old Buddhist site at Begram, 45 kilometres from Kabul,—excavations which were richly rewarded by the discovery of certain painted glasses, potteries and certain other miscellaneous antiquities and the remnants of a series of ivory cofferets, boxes, and architectural pieces. The group of carved and incised ivory pieces constitutes a remarkable series of documents of great significance to the history of Indian sculpture. The works of the school of Mathura sculpture (*Māthura śilākāras*) dating from Kushān times and running into the Gupta period have been very well known and studied, but the ivory fragments with remarkably fine and significant carved figures and incised drawings, discovered by M. Hackin, have indeed brought to light a lost page in the history of Indian Art, the like of which has not yet been traced in any part of India. An additional significance is attached to the finds owing to the fact that they are absolutely free from any traces of foreign influence and are works of purely Indian inspiration (“d’inspiration purement indienne”)—a fact which gains additional significance when we remember that they have come from the heart of Hellenistic culture in the East,—very near to the ancient sites of Bāktria, Kāpiśā,

and Gandhāra. The question naturally arises if these carvings were imported from India or executed locally by a guild of ivory carvers from Mathura. If we compare them with specimens of stone sculpture from old sites of Mathura, e.g., those collected in the Mathura and the Lucknow museums—we find they are not mere repetitions of analogous style of the lithic art, but display a freshness, a spontaneity, and a versatility,—which distinguish them from the traditional formula of the Mathura School—and hold these groups of examples together in a unity of style, which seem to suggest that they were worked out locally by a guild of sculptors imported from Mathura. In some motifs, they appear to recall the Yakṣiṇī types of Sānchi and Bhārhut, but the Yakṣiṇīs are rendered in a more free original and lively pose, and in a new stylistic convention which can be clearly distinguished from the stylistic conventions and the stereotyped poses and the fixed iconography not only of the Sānchi and Bhārhut Yakṣiṇīs, but also of the Mathura Yakṣiṇīs, represented in the Mathura museum. This divergent style can only be explained by the fact that Begram pieces illustrate the birth of a New School of Art—the Mathura School in a *nascent* stage—of which the developed, later, and decadent phases are illustrated in the examples which have survived in India. Following the Early Indian Art (represented by the remains of Sānchi and Bhārhut), and, preceding the art of the Gupta period (principally represented at Sārnath),—we have the birth and growth of a New School of sculpture,—that of Mathura, which appears to cover a period of 400 years (*circa* 1st century to 4th century A. D.). In the Begram remains we have a glimpse of one of the early phases, if not the earliest phase, of the Mathura School. A majority of the specimens recovered at Begram, can hardly be designated as sculpture, or even reliefs, and are mere incised drawings belonging more to the domain of pictorial than of plastic Art. From this point of view, these drawings on ivory tablets and plaques add to our knowledge of the state of Indian pictorial art

about the 2nd century A. D.—of which no other evidence is available, either at Ajanta, or elsewhere. This class of incised drawings (without very little, if any, manner of modelling) is typically illustrated by Figs. 64, 107, and 221. The last example, a charming study of a Young Woman with a Swan, may perhaps represent the Type of 'a Hamsinī maid'. Indeed, many of the women and girls represented in this series do not represent Yakṣiṇīs, as M. Hackin suggests, but most probably represent secular types of *nāyikās*, the "heroines of love-lore," indicated in the *Rasa-sāstras*. Some of the duets in conventional poses (e.g., Figs. 208, 211, 212) may represent Yakṣiṇī pairs of cult symbolism, but others in freer story-telling and dramatic poses (e.g., Pl. xl, Fig. 70, Pl. xxxi, Fig. 88) are undoubtedly meant to represent *nāyikās* ("love-heroines") of Indian erotology. Many of these *nāyikā* pairs, "lover and her confidante" (*saṅghī*) represent 'toilette scenes'—dressing and 'decorating' for a meeting with the beloved (Fig. 66). One (Fig. 67) appears to illustrate a *Navodhā*, a newly-wed, shy and modest lover—led by her *confidante* to her Lord, frequently illustrated in Rājput miniatures. M. Hackin has made some very appreciative comments on the exceptionally high quality of some of these *nāyikās* toilette scenes and *nāyikās* (not identified as such): L'ensemble que nous venons de décrire est d'une qualité exceptionnelle. C'est l'élégance d'Amaravati mais exprimée par une être physique très différent" (p. 90). Though recalling and related to some of the Amaravati figures, they have to be clearly distinguished from the types of the Amaravati School. Yet the link with Amaravati (almost contemporary with Early Mathura School) is not entirely lacking. The most typical connections are offered by the vegetable motifs, the supernatural animal types (*jalebha*, *jala-turaga*, *jala-hastins*, *maṅgaras*, *leo-gryphs*, and other marine monsters). M. Hackin somewhat complacently assumes that these various types of marine monsters which figure in early Buddhist Art, are necessarily of extra-Indian

origin, ignoring recent researches which have traced their forms to Vedic sources. As Codrington and other scholars have pointed out, these marine monsters occurring in various schools of Early Indian Art are "undoubtedly indigenous." Two distinctly foreign types occur in this series of carved ivories. The first is represented by a type of maid-servant or female attendant, or retainers who wear a kind of narrow trousers (See Figs. 329, 156, 157, 158). They recall identical types represented on the reliefs at Amaravati and Nāgārjunikonda. Another foreign type is the Gandhāran version of river-goddess wearing a chemise and standing on *maṭara* (Figs. 77, 78) and clearly distinguished from the Indian version with the upper body uncovered (Fig. 79). The latter example stands on two marine monsters—a *maṭara*, and a *jala-turaga* with scales, recalling similar compositions and motifs occurring on early reliefs at Amaravati (circa 1st century B. C.). A typically Hellenistic figure is the bronze bust of Athena (Nos. 241, 142). M. Hackin has drawn attention to a very remarkable plaque (Fig. C, Fig. 137) which undoubtedly illustrates an archaic Sumerian motif (cited in an example from Farah, Fig. D). It represents a group of lions and human beings, intimately grouped, and representing some pre-historic Indo-Sumerian cult-symbols, if we can judge from analogous groups discovered at Mohenjo-daro. The Begram piece offers a very significant example of Indianization of extra-Indian religious motifs, and the indigenous Indian style which translates the Sumerian cult in the characteristic plastic language of India, amply demonstrates that a borrowing of motif does not import any manner of 'influence' on the native Indian language of Plastic Art. This is further demonstrated by the Mathura versions of the anguipède (Figs. 73, 74, 199), a marine monster of the dolphin type, with two tails symmetrically disposed and held in two hands, of which Hellenistic versions occur in Gandhāra reliefs. Here the Indian versions introduce original features, replacing the tails by two *maṭaras* from

the jaws of which emerge a Yakṣa goblin (Fig. 73). The author cites a fragment of a Greco-Buddhist bas-relief from Shotorak (near Begram) (Fig. 109) which illustrates a typically Indian *maṭara-toraṇa* (placed on two Ionic pillars) (the so-called "léo-griphe" are actually *maṭaras*) and incidentally illustrates the "influence" of Indian Art on Hellenistic Sculpture, if borrowing of motifs can be taken as evidence of "influences". The question of the date of these exquisite ivory pieces is of some consequence to the history of Indian Art, in general, and of the Mathura School, in particular. The author compares them with and relates them to the examples of the museums of Mathura and Lucknow belonging to the epoch of the Great Kuṣāṇas (1st to 3rd century A. D.), and suggests (at p. 22) a date between the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 4th century, A. D., on the basis of their astonishing virtuosity, their happy skill and perfection of technique. On the basis of certain *Kharoṣṭhi* letters cited by the author (p. 24) a date between the 2nd and the 3rd century is suggested. The present reviewer is inclined to date the pieces a little earlier on the basis of a stylistic comparison with typical examples of Mathura stone-reliefs. The author alludes to certain "traces d'influence hellénistique" which are not demonstrated. He however rightly emphasises the fact that the Begram pieces remain faithful to the artistic tradition of India, in spite of the fact that the Buddhist Art of Mathura displays some innovations coming from the North-west (?). He further remarks, (noticing the independent and original character of these decorated and figured ivories), that in the north of India, the secular art appears to rebel against foreign influences, to which the religious Buddhist Art openly patronised by the invaders, appears to easily submit itself.

The work is in two parts, the first being the volume of Text (p. 137) and the second being the volume of 78 plates illustrating 238 pieces admirably reproduced in Phototype Plates. The cross-references to the figures and the



numbers of the finds are somewhat confusing, inspite of the "Tableau de concordance". We are greatly indebted to French connoisseurship of Indian Art for this admirable tribute, and for recovering for students of Indian culture, a precious, though a lost, chapter of Mathura sculpture.

O. C. GANGOLY

**The Silappādikāram or the Lay of the Anklet**, Translated with an Introduction and Notes by V. R. Ram-Chandra Dikshitar, Oxford University Press, 1939. Price Rs. 15/-

As Monsieur Jules Bloch remarks in the *Foreword* to this excellent volume, "it is a boon not only to the student of history but also to the literary man and to everybody interested in Tamil Literature." Mr. Dikshitar is an historian of Tamil culture and he has already given evidences of his researches in his *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, containing tantalizing glimpses of the data imbedded in ancient Tamil Literature. There has been a demand for easy and direct access to the ancient Tamil Texts, and the historian has generously come forward to give an accurate translation of one of the famous epics of early Tamil culture—a task properly due from a student of Literature. But we thank the historian all the same for undertaking this arduous task and disclosing the direct evidences bearing on many phases of Tamilian history and culture. The present reviewer is not competent to appraise the quality of the translation but those competent to judge have already praised the faithful character and accuracy of this rendering,—an accuracy which, at times, has gone to the extreme length and demand a freer version. But, as an historian, he has been scrupulous in presenting his evidences in a strictly accurate translation. For this document, though primarily a justly famous epic,—is a museum of informations of many phases of early culture in the South. The various data geographical, social, religious, political,

commercial and asthetic have been carefully distinguished and commented on in a very learned Introduction which is the author's original contribution to study of this famous Epic. As a culture-Saga, the 'Story of the Anklet' covers the triple kingdoms of the Cholas, Cheras and Paṇḍyas, and Paṭṭini the deified heroine, worshipped and prayed to by all the earth, made the Chola king realize the truth of the old saying that the chastity of virtuous women would not be meritorious if the valiant monarch did not rule properly; again she made the Paṇḍyan, the guardian of the Southern regions, realize that the king would not live if his sceptre swerved from justice; further, the Chera king of the Western regions was made to feel that the wrath incurred by true monarchs would not be appeased till their sworn vows were fulfilled so as to be known to the kings of the Northern regions. This map of Tamil culture, therefore, includes within its orbit and has knit together the three sister kingdoms of the South, famous in history. The quality of the Epic poem, (divided into 23 brilliant cantos in three Books), is of an unique aesthetic flavour. It has a harmonious combination of the lyrical, the dramatic, and the grandiose. No other Epic in the world can rival, or stand comparison with its original *rasa* values. Take for instance, the 'sea-shore songs' (Canto VII). Their lyrical fragrance and their imaginative flavour are hard to beat in any language. But we are more concerned, here, with historical information and antiquarian data which the Epic provides in abundance to the students of antiquity. The great Karikala Chola, immortalized by the Sangam poets, the author of the Kavery dams, the builder of the commercial and maritime capitals Pukar and Kaveripattanam, is pictured in the Epic with picturesque details. The portrait of Nedunchallyan, the contemporary Paṇḍyan King is also drawn on the canvas of this Epic in vivid colours and piquant details. The Chera King Senguttuvan also comes to life in the pages of this remarkable Saga. But much more interesting is the vivid



glimpse that we get of the international city of Pukar, with its foreign colony of Yavanas, its merchants, and traders, artists, artisans and soldiers, and the detailed description of the various quarters of the city, each with its particular social group—with its marts, markets, and shrines—is of intense interest. The description of the celebration of the Indra's festival (now alas, extinct!) is one of the finest cantos in the Epic. It helps us to visualize the life of the times with vivid and cinematographic details. Many significant details help to fix not only the date of this Epic, which has been hitherto exaggerated by Tamil patriots, but also offer materials to fix the date of the evolution of many phases of Indian culture. Although the Epic cannot be placed earlier than the second century A. D., it helps to fix the dates of other phases of Indian culture. The cult histories of Śiva, Viṣṇu, Skanda and other forms of the divinity receive new and significant lights. The temple and the worship of Śiva and other deities are frequently referred to. One quotation will suffice: "At that time the thunder of the morning drum rose high accompanied by the blowing of the white conch from the temples of Śiva with the forehead eye, of Viṣṇu with the Garuḍa standard, of Baladeva with the plough and of Subrahmaṇya with the cock-flag, and from the residences of those proclaiming *dharma* as well as from the palace of the victorious king." (Canto XIV; 1-14). There are two significant references which establish the antiquity of the Tirupati shrine—to "the red-eyed Lord, dwelling on the topmost crest of the tall and lofty hill named Venkaṭaṁ" (Canto XI, 56). But while the Epic offers to admiring gaze the rich panorama of the life and culture of the South, vividly portrayed with interesting details—the evidences disclosed in the text establish beyond all shadow of doubt that the culture that is disclosed in the pages of this text—is a culture deeply impenetrated and dominated by a Sanskrit culture—apparently imported from the North. Not only eleven per cent

of the text (as demonstrated by the author in Appendix I) is loaded with Sanskrit words—the whole system and the framework of the society pictured, the ideals of religion and of morality are all borrowed from Aryan, and non-Tamil sources. Even the poetical imageries, the metaphors, and similes and the rhetorical conventions are bodily taken and adopted from Sanskrit Literature. In the field of religion and image-worship, the names of the Vedic and the Pauranic gods, which occur in this text prove beyond doubt “that the assimilation and the blend of two cultures, Sanskrit and Tamil, was a thing of the ancient past”. And grievous must be the disappointment of those who have been fed on the promise that early Tamil Literature offers an antique and original culture, clearly to be distinguished from the Aryan Sanskrit culture of the North. May be, the earlier poems, the Seven Idylls are the repository of the unique, original, and independent pre-Aryan Tamil culture in its aboriginal purity and simplicity free from the shadow of rainbow colours of Sanskrit Literature. But the *Śilappadikāram* notwithstanding many local touches, here and there, does not represent the “well of Tamil Culture undefiled,” but is coloured heavily by the thick paints of the Sanskrit palette, which conceal rather than reveal the primitive and original texture of the native Tamil genius and its unique ways of thought and expression. To complete the survey, the earlier and the later Sagas—the Seven Idylls and the *Maṇimekhalai*—demand a similar exposition and it is hoped that some other scholar, if not Mr. Dikshitar himself, should give us translations of other Tamil texts on the excellent model set by our author. Apart from social and political institutions and data provided in this Epic, there is a wealth of material available for an elaborate study of music and dancing; though ‘dramatic poetry’ is vaguely mentioned, there is no evidence of the existence of drama proper (*nāṭakam*) as such. There are two branches of dramaturgy referred to under

the Tamil names of *yaḷ* and *isai*, but there is no ancient Tamil word corresponding to *nāṭaka*. The *mudrās* and the 'hands of gesticulations' are referred to under the name of *piṇḍi*. But it is not suggested that 24 different *mudrās* have been evolved at the time of this Epic. Only eleven modes of body-movement and limb-movements (same as in the Bharata text) are referred to. Even the mythical origin of Dancing, though localised with the cult of Agastya, and the 'staff' (*talaikkōḷ*) symbolical of Jayanta-figures as *jarjara* in the text of Bharata, and must be an adaptation of earlier Sanskrit legends. Our author very ably shifts the data of music and musical instruments and establish that *yāḷ* and *vīṇā* are different instruments. But he appears to exaggerate the difference between Tamil and early northern music. The 22 *śrutis*, and the seven notes derived from the voice of seven animals, are obviously derived by Tamilians from the northern musical lore, and it is useless to claim originality for *śāstric* Tamil music by suggesting the theory of parallel ideas. Undoubtedly, the folk-music of the Tamil represented an original culture—but, as the author points out, the native Tamil music was forgotten even in the time of Aḍiyarkkunallār (p. 369), and "South Indian music seems to follow largely the theory modes, and notation of early Sanskrit musicians." We have nothing but high praise for the learned Introduction (74 pages) and the elaborate notes given at the foot of the text. At times, the *Notes* border on cheap generalisations, e.g., when in connection with the 'quantity marks' branded on the bales of goods, the author runs to 'pictographic writings' and 'South India's intercourse with Egypt'! At one place the author is led to remark that chariots drawn by horses were not in vogue at the time, a suggestion which is contradicted by many passages in the text (V, 157-158). The tying of *tali* is never practised in Northern Indian marriages in the upper castes (p. 57), so that other social customs have to be investigated to prove the Dravidian influences on Aryans—a fact con-

ceded by various scholars. The author has given a list of instances (pp. 64-65) to prove that the author of the Epic had first-hand knowledge of the Sanskrit works on drama and music as well as of the Sanskrit Epics and the Purāṇas, which corroborate the author's remark that "Tamil imagination has been from very early times influenced by Aryan Culture." The text of the *Silappadikāram* amply proves the fundamental unity of Indian culture in the North and in the South. And the author has earned the gratitude of all lovers of Indian culture by presenting this unique material in a worthy form and in the spirit of accurate and unbiassed scholarship.

O. C. G.

**Guide to the Archaeological Galleries (Madras Government Museum)**—By F. H. Gravely, C. Sivaramamurti and other curators. Pp. 48, 4 plates. Madras, 1939.

**Illustrations of Indian Sculpture Mostly Southern**—By F. H. Gravely and C. Sivaramamurti, Introduction, 45 plates, Madras, 1939.

These two handy and extremely useful monographs from the indefatigable pen of the Superintendent of the Madras Government Museum and his assistants make a fresh addition to the list of their valuable contributions on South Indian art and archaeology. In the short but informative Preface to the *Guide*, the authors modestly state their objects to be "to provide somewhat fuller information than has been possible in the labels, and to present it in a form in which it can be taken away for future reference". In actual fact, they give a luminous survey of South Indian Art in its different branches from the earliest times to the present. In the *Guide* the authors, after a short introduction tracing the history of Indian art down to the Gupta times, deal with the early sculpture as represented by Amaravati and the northern schools. This preliminary survey introduces us to short sections on South Indian architecture and sculpture followed by shorter notices of East Indian sculpture, of

South Indian scripts and of coins. An archaeological map and a short, but extremely valuable appendix on Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina iconography, four plates and as many drawings complete this interesting work. Some of the authors' accounts, e.g., of the four periods of Amaravati and related art (pp. 4-7), of the five periods of Tamilian architecture illustrated with drawings (pp. 16-19), of the corresponding periods of Tamilian sculpture (pp. 22-24), are models of lucid, accurate and ample exposition. The authors show their good sense in explaining (p. 11) the resemblance of Gupta art to the art of classical Greece, not as a result of western influence but as that of parallel development. Considering its extreme usefulness, the price of this monograph seems to be remarkably cheap.

We offer below a few suggestions for consideration of the learned authors in a case a second edition is called for.

P. 2—"The Buddhists were not only the earliest Indian historians but, with the Jains, were also the first to develop sculpture in stone". The fact is that the uncertainties of Indian literary chronology are so great that it is difficult to say who are the earliest Indian historians. The Buddhist canon, it is true, contains germs of Buddha's biography and Buddhist church-history, but might not the oldest Puranas presumably containing dynastic lists with didactic observations be equally or even still more ancient? A *Bhaviṣyat* Purana at any rate existed earlier than Āpastamba's Dharmasūtra. As to the second point, can we attribute Buddhist or Jaina connections to such pre-Maurya or Maurya sculptures as the stone figures from Patna, Besnagar and Parkham which most probably belong to the cult of *yakṣas* and *yakṣiṇīs*? Even the Jaina origin of the nude torso with Mauryan polish described by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *JBORS*. and now deposited in the Patna Museum has still to be definitely proved.

P. 3—"The ruined 'Lad Khan' temple at Aihole near Badami seems to be the most southerly monument [of the Guptas]". Considering that the Aihole stands altogether

outside the zone of the Gupta empire, it seems desirable to replace 'Gupta art' of commonly accepted nomenclature by the term 'Gupta-Vākātaka art'. Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in his 'Age of the Imperial Guptas', has, contrary to the usual view, attributed the Lad Khan temple to Kirtivarman I of the Western Calukya dynasty.

P. 8—"Graeco-Buddhist art seems to have originated in (or before) the reign apparently long and peaceful of the Scythian Azes I... It had a brief but brilliant revival in the 'Indo-Afghan' sculpture of about 400 A. D. or a little later". Azes I was certainly a renowned ruler whose chief exploit appears to have been the conquest of the Eastern Punjab from its last Greek king Hippostrates. He has also been supposed to be the founder of the Vikrama era. But his family was Persian, not Saka. Again if Dr. Tarn is right in identifying the figure on one of Maues' coin types as that of Buddha, the beginnings of Buddhist art must go back some twenty years earlier than Azes I's time. The term 'Indo-Afghan' made fashionable by Sir John Marshall is open to the objection that it might suggest, on the analogy of Indo-Persian art, the wholly mistaken idea of joint Indian and Afghan cultural influences.

P. 9—"The Graeco-Buddhist sculptures exhibited include Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in Greek robes". The robes of the Gandhāran Buddha are the usual monastic garments of the Buddhist *bhikṣu*, while those of the Gandhāran Bodhisattvas are the ordinary Indian princely garments.

P. 9—"The Lomas Rsi Cave in the Barabar Hills with a frieze of elephants on its façade" are included among "the few truly indigenous remains that survive from the Maurya period". In view of Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri's observations, (*JBORS.*, Vol. XII, pp. 49-52 and 58-62) it is not improbable that the unique façade of the Lomas Rsi Cave was the work of Kalinga artists during the raid of king Khāravēla.



P. 9—"The famous capitals of Asoka's edict-pillars are in Persepolitan style." Usually the style is characterised as Perso-Hellenistic, though there are other views making "the bell-shaped capital" partake the form of an up-turned lotus of indigenous tradition or else deriving the same from a common West-Asiatic inheritance in which the art of Persepolis also shared.

P. 10—"Indian art, instead of idealising man's physical and intellectual beauty as Greek art did, tended to idealise rather his spiritual beauty.....so much so that in the early days of indigenous sculpture, the sacred figure of Buddha was invariably represented symbolically, never in bodily form as in Greco-Buddhist sculpture". Not to raise the vexed question of origin of the Buddha image, it seems clear that the early ban against Buddha's figure-representation was due to definite canonical prohibitions, which probably reflect Buddha's keen desire to guard against the danger of man-worship. In later times the Indian spiritual ideal, so far from inhibiting the representation of Buddha, helped to produce the magnificent creations of Gupta and post-Gupta periods.

P. 30—"With the probable exception of the elephant above the Asoka edict at Dhauli.....and of the sculptured caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri.....the earliest surviving sculptures of the ancient Kalinga kingdom and of Bengal are from times considerably later than the close of the Gupta period, from the art of which however they derived their inspiration". Attention has recently been drawn to the fact that not only Gupta but also Kushan types of sculpture, presumably of local origin, may be traced in the art of ancient Bengal, which also points to the existence of an old indigenous tradition, sharing with Gupta art in the evolution of the art of the Pāla period (See the valuable paper of S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal* in Journ. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University, Vol. XXX, Calcutta, 1937).

P. 31—"Uddandapura, the Pala capital." The oldest



definite references to Uddanāpura occur on two Buddha pedestal inscriptions of the reign of Vīgrahapāla I (or Śūra-pāla I). A Tārā image has also been found from the ruins of the Bihar fort with an inscription of king Rāmapāla. But probably the only Pāla king having his capital at Uddanāpura was Govindapāla who belonged to the latter part of the 12th century, and was presumably overthrown by Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyar.

P. 32—"Kharosthi.....finally disappeared in about the third century A.D.". The Kharoṣṭhī records may be traced down at least to the middle of the 5th century A.D.

Pp. 33-34—"Punch-marked purāṇas are.....impressed with three or four symbols each.....The Puranas may be presumed to have been issued by specially authorised local authorities or persons". The fact is that punch-marked purāṇas bear on the obverse a group of five symbols and on the reverse two or three or otherwise a number of punches. It has also been recently shown that the extraordinary uniformity of these coins points to a central issuing authority which is presumably that of the Maurya empire. (See John Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1939, Introduction, pp. xxi, xxxvii, lvi).

In conclusion, we would refer to a few misprints:—p. 9 'charibearer', 'Didargange'; p. 5 n 'Charma', 'flour-de-lis' p. 11 'roots'.

The *Illustrations*, which is a companion volume of the *Guide*, contains good reproductions of a series of forty-five sculptures mostly belonging to the Madras Museum. The illustrations are well selected and they include specimens from some less well-known schools, such as the Andhra sculpture from Goli (pl. x), Kalinga sculptures from Mukhalingam (pls. xvi-xvii), Early Eastern Cālukyan sculptures (pls. xx-xxi), Nolamba sculptures (pls. xxii-xxiii) and Kākatiya sculpture (pl. xxvii). Naturally enough, the Tamilian sculptures account for the largest number of illustrations (pls. xxix-xlvi), showing the evolution from the Pallava period to modern times.

We could wish that the *provenance* of some of the sculptures (e.g. pl. xxi), should not have been left blank, also that one or either of the famous Nāteśa figures of the Museum which roused the enthusiastic admiration of M. Rodin, had been included, and that at least one more Pāla sculpture belonging to its early phase had found a place. We would finally point out that the statement (*Introduction*, p. 1): "The different schools of sculpture that developed in the various kingdoms which arose [in Northern India] on the downfall of the Gupta empire, are all based upon that empire's art" ignores, e.g., the vigorous indigenous tradition of Bengal to which reference has been made above.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**Pandji Verhalen Onderling Vergeleken** by R. M. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka, Bibliotheca Javanica IX. Published by the Royal Batavian Society.

In this important publication, the author summarises a number of Pañji stories (Hikayat Pañji Kuda Semirang, the Cambodian Pañji story, the Pañji story from Serat Kaṇḍa, Angrom Akung, Jayakusuma, Pañji of Palembang, Pañji Kuda Naravangśa Malat). This is followed by the author's comparison of the stories and his valuable remarks on their general character. Differing from his predecessors, the author thinks that Kalang (Gegelang), was the name of a kingdom with a *kraton* of the same name which was situated at the western foot of the Wilis. He further thinks that the Pañji stories originated in the post-Majapahit period and were originally written in middle-Javanese.

H. B. SARKAR.

## Lecture on "American Interest in Indian Culture"

Recently Calcutta had the opportunity of welcoming in its midst Dr. Horace I. Poleman, Ph.D., Director of the Library of Congress, Washington (U.S.A.), who was touring in India in connection with his scheme of establishing cultural contacts between India and America. At the invitation of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Dr. Poleman read a paper in the rooms of the Institute on the 3rd August 1940 with Dr. Kalidas Nag, Joint Secretary of the Greater India Society, in the chair. With the kind permission of the Ramakrishna Institute we have pleasure in reproducing below the main portion of this interesting paper.

"I shall consider the culture of India from two points of view—its past and its future. Doubtless no American interested in the humanities would assert that Indic civilization has been inconsequential in the past and is negligible in our calculations for the future, yet doubtless few think in an inclusive way of India's accomplishments. Perhaps Americans think exclusively, if at all, of your philosophy and religion. And justly so. For aside from the abortive "Aryanization" now being promulgated by the German High Command, the Indo-European speaking peoples of India are the only branch of that linguistic stock to have developed and zealously preserved its own religious and philosophical concepts—concepts which have resisted both intellectual and armed invasions, and revolutions throughout historical times. In the Rigveda one finds the well-developed result of profound thinking on the part of your early seers. Much of this thinking demands further clarification. In the Atharvaveda a pre-Aryan folk-religion of magic appears, but the substructure remained. Although the Upanishads form an intellectual revolution with little remaining from the Vedas except the adoration of the Pits, they are still characteristic of Indian thought. And it is in the study of them that the

foreign student is impressed by the lightning flashes of truth, which inevitably affect his own evaluation of himself and his world as well as of the early thinkers of India. The Upanishads found their reaction in the still later growth of ritualism on the one hand and the infusion of *bhakti* into worship on the other on an ever-increasing scale. How much of these phases are Aryan in their progressive development and how much the adoption of the pre-Aryan ideas is yet to be determined by a study of the primitive and prehistoric. The impact of all this on the West resulted in the German romantic movement of the 19th century together with the scientific study of the history and comparison of religions. Much of the thinking of Schopenhauer emanated from the Upanishads, and the responsibility for the American Transcendentalist School of thought lies with India.

"In the realm of pure literature India's contributions are famous. Although the religious content is prominent, it has not excluded a massive literature of epic, drama—which perhaps has a first place in antiquity,—folk-lore, law and lyric poetry, as well as elaborate studies in linguistics, aesthetics, and the poetic art. No teaching of the history of literature in the West can claim distinction without an adequate consideration of India. The history of drama is vitally concerned with India, the spread of folk-lore through the West from India, where it goes deep into the subsoil of culture, makes any treatment of that subject ludicrous without constant reference to Indian origins. Not until recent times has any grammatical or linguistic work approached in clarity, exactness and scientific perfection the work of Pāṇini and his followers. The study of rhetorical principles and of all phases of law finds itself in the same relation to India.

"Architecture and the plastic arts have had a career in India which we can study since the third century B.C. India's art has had a unique history of theme and technique, and has never been excelled for imaginative power. Schools of art in the West are giving increasing attention. Our chief task

in the expansion of such study will be to furnish the necessary implementation to the educational system of America.

"All phases of science have had a long and independent position in Indian thinking. Medicine, astronomy, mathematics and law need interpretation to the West. To mention one aspect I was asked a number of years ago by a medical research scientist if there is anything in the history of Indian medicine referring to Caesarian section. As a result of my studies of death-rituals in which this operation has figured I was able to give him much interesting antiquarian material, which was subsequently considered important enough to publish for the scientific world. Medical science could profit from a careful study of Indian materials.

"Anyone unacquainted with Indian civilization in its various departments does not know, or even begin to know, the world-history of any one of those phases of culture.

"It will be my pleasant task in collaboration with certain others presently to persuade American educators to acquaint their students with this civilization on a scale hitherto unknown. The plan for the programme of the development of Indic studies in America can best be stated by quoting from a recent Bulletin of the American Council of Learned Societies on "Indic Studies in America": The programme will call for the training of two kinds of personnel—"the one to be engaged primarily in Indological research and in due time to fill the present chairs of Sanskrit and similar chairs which may be instituted at other great universities. The second kind of personnel to be trained is one to carry Indological knowledge to a large audience through the medium of other disciplines. These men, trained in the Indian aspects of their fields—fine arts, history, anthropology, political science, and a number of other disciplines—would present India to the students in our colleges and universities in a far more widely reaching manner than is possible for the present few professors of Sanskrit.

"In addition to the training and placing of personnel, we

need implementation, particularly that which makes the study of India possible to the large group peripheral to Indology and dependent upon the Indologists for the scientific standard of the Indic materials it uses. It is true that the implementation for Indic studies is better than it is in most underworked fields, because there is already a tradition (in America) of a century's scientific labour in many parts of the field. But the implementation will not suffice for the expansion of Indic studies beyond their present limits.

"For the production of both the personnel and the implementation, we need a strong American school in India. The American School of Indic and Iranian studies was organized in 1934, primarily for the purpose of assuming responsibility for the excavations at Chanhu-daro. Its very modest pledges of funds, first made in 1930, evaporated during the depression, and even the excavations which were started on contributed money have not yet been satisfactorily completed. At some time the School will establish headquarters in Benares, where it will serve as a centre of training for younger American scholars, provide a radial point for the use of Americans conducting humanistic research in India, and participate in the revaluation of Indic culture which the Indians are making for themselves.

"The present status of Indic studies sets the problems of that field peculiarly before the humanities, and it is scholars of the humanities who must urge the development of Indic studies in the West. These studies offer a vast and fruitful field for research, they will be a tool for comprehending the world which is now coming to be and for meeting its needs, they will enrich humanistic studies and validate the humanistic approach to understanding.

"So much for the past. It is a rich past. But in glorying in that past, do not lose sight of the future. It will be less than futile, it will be degenerate to be content to revel in that past without planning a vigorous future. There have been great thinkers in your past. There are some to-day. It is reasonable to suppose that the reflective tradition will



carry on, but inevitably modified by modern scientific approaches. Much revaluation of this past must be accomplished within India itself as it is to be applied to current and future problems and thought. Such revaluation is already appearing, but those reactionaries who refuse to revalue, who insist upon the continuance of traditional values without submitting them to a searching, as well as sympathetic, analysis, will be discredited in the West. The students of American colleges to-day are no longer the playboys of the first quarter of this century. They are hard-thinking, determined realists, looking eagerly for real values wherever they can find them. They will not be interested in vague shoutings about the omnipotent Om, and secret, mystical interpretations of what may be realistically evaluated. We on our side stand indicted for many mistakes and false values, so that we must also let ourselves in for evaluations. We need intellectual understanding on each side to make a satisfactory adjustment of East with West. Much patience and co-operation will be needed.

"But to get down to specific points. Philosophy and religion assume a new place in our development. The man of to-day must be less concerned with whether a Christ or a Krishna were divine incarnations than he must be concerned with whether what they taught will work in the planning of a good and healthy life for himself and fellow-beings. "Spiritual" fads, creeds, and dogmas will not help. They will only embitter and destroy. Ignorance must succumb to education. An old manuscript must be revered not because it is the supposed holy utterance of a seer, but because it is an expression of an intellect, which may have intellectual value for us. Where truth exists it will be recognized, but only when bias and clap-trap have been clearly shorn away from it. I have noticed three kinds of scholars in India: the reactionary who is impatient of all modern scientific methods, who is content with a traditional point of view exclusively; a second type who is still in the grip of medievalism and loves nothing so much as to argue



the relative merits of this or that *mantra* for the attainment of soul-force. (There are similar minds in the West too.) And finally there is the third who justly dissatisfied with much of the Western evaluation of Eastern learning carefully searches in his laboratory of technical instruments or in his mind for an unprejudiced and just treatment of his subject. Yes, India is well on the way toward a severe and critical attitude toward herself, but there are still many elements within her which would dissuade her from the work. The eyes of the West will be increasingly upon you, expectant, eager, but critical. Search yourselves well.

"Turning from the world of ideas to that of scientific research I would like to indicate briefly some of the work which remains to be done.

"The archaeologist's spade has only begun to turn up the facts necessary for the understanding of the prehistoric as it has affected the historic. So much that is unexplored in the past requires the light of intense archaeological work. To penetrate the secret of the origin of Indian art, for example, will require much delving into the earth-bound past. It may never be penetrated, but a working hypothesis for its origins may be forthcoming.

"In the field of languages considerable scientific analysis is still needed, for Sanskrit itself and the literary dialects of antiquity. The monumental work of the Petersburg Lexicon frequently falls short of the requirements of the scholar working in any phase of Sanskrit literature, since so much of that literature remains unexplored. In philosophy and religion there are numerous unpublished texts dealing with medieval theories and practices. Mediaeval texts on rituals remain almost unexplored. Much of modern religious practices have yet to come under any scientific observation. In the realm of pure literature there are texts to be published for the West. Even of the standard and long known texts, some are still not published in critical editions. For example, the *Mahābhārata* which is now receiving such excellent editorial

treatment at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

"Many of the modern tongues of India remain to be studied scientifically. Dravidian and Munda languages have vast uncharted spaces.

"In the fields of anthropology and ethnology the conceptions of the racial history of India will probably be subject to correction as the necessary investigations are pursued.

"The history of India will constantly be revised in the light of new inscriptions, numismatics, and literary evidence. Not too much is known about political and economic theory and practice in ancient India. Sociology lacks a satisfactory explanation of even so fundamental an element of Indian life as the caste system. The study of Hindu and Moslem cultures in their interrelations is practically a virgin field. If the world is to know India it must have much more material from her scholars that exists at present. We in the West will assist in whatever way we can.

"For the pursuit of this work much organization and co-operation must be developed. Each of us has his pet interests, but we must try to consider them as they relate to the work of others, for no one field exists alone. The ethnographical work of a man in Bengal must be considered by the Malayalam. The archaeologist of Eastern India must keep his eye on the man in Sind. Since scholars are also human beings they find it easier to criticise than to co-operate. And in a country where non-co-operation has in some respects become a disease, the elements of disorganization must be specially kept under control.

"I hope that as India develops as a nation she will also develop a national centre for the direction of cultural studies, for the collection of the data, and the distribution of it abroad.

"The interpretation of India to America will depend more on what you do than upon the small group of its own scholars and educators in the Indic field. Rightly or wrongly your ideas for the time being will be measured by Western

standards. It will be a mistake to try to convert us to Hinduism in any of its aspects or to any other ism. (We have too many isms of our own to contend with now.) Give us cold, reasoned facts, and arguments without passion or sentimentality. Thereby a sympathy will be created more genuine than any dependent upon other appeals.

"I desire India to succeed, to rid herself of apparent deficiencies, to take her place well up in whatever is to be the future international order, and to command the respect and dignified appreciation of the rest of the world."

## **The Third Session of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939**

The Third session of the Indian History Congress was held on three successive days (15th, 16th and 17th December 1939) in the commodious compound and rooms of the Asutosh Buildings of the Calcutta University. By a happy forethought of the authorities concerned, it had been decided to hold the Sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission at the same venue immediately before the History Congress. The result was seen in the record attendance of members and delegates representing almost all the Indian Universities as well as the Government departments and other institutions interested in the cause of historical research in this country. The session of the Congress was opened on the forenoon of the 15th December in a spacious and beautiful pandal specially erected for the occasion within the compound of the University Buildings. The proceedings started with a fine welcome address delivered by the Chairman of the Reception Committee (Hon. Khan Bahadur M. Azizul Haque), who said that Bengal might not have historic sites of as great an antiquity as some of the sites in northern and western India but still she could boast of her historic sites like Tamluk and Tribeni, Bishnupur and Jessore, Mahasthan and Paharpur, Nabadvip and Vikrampur, Satgaon and Pandua, Gaud and Murshidahad, Dacca and Chittagong, and above all of Calcutta as the place where was laid the foundation of modern India and where the pioneers in the fields of Indian history began their work and the university organised systematic studies and researches into India's past. H. E. the Governor of Bengal then inaugurated the Congress by saying that although the Congress was a comparatively recent body, it represented a long and distinguished tradition of historical scholarship and that he recognised the

value of historical researches inasmuch as there was no such thing as a past which could be conveniently divorced from the present. After His Excellency's speech, the Report of the Proceedings of the last session having been presented by the General Secretary (Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan), the General President (Dr. R.C. Majumdar) delivered his thoughtful address. His speech, besides taking stock of the work of the previous year, contained a valuable warning against the regional and denominational tendencies in certain modern historical writings, and offered a number of fruitful suggestions for future guidance. "In the ancient period", he said, "Indian History and civilisation were vitally connected with the great civilisations which flourished in Western Asia and Africa, and later they were still more closely associated with practically the whole of Northern and Eastern Asia. In the mediaeval period, India was a vital link in the great chain of Islamic civilisation which bound together a considerable part of the civilised world. Of the modern period I need say but little, as it is too patent to everybody how the events happening almost on the opposite side of the globe are shaping the political destiny of the country and seriously affecting her moral, material, and economic conditions. It is obvious to me that we cannot follow the currents of Indian history as phenomena isolated from the rest of the world. I also find it difficult to believe that a school of Indian History can really develop in India unless our historical studies are widened and placed on a broader basis." Turning to the dangers facing Indian historical scholarship, he insisted that the historians must rise above nationalism and "break down the barrier of provincialism and overcome the influence of communalism in historical studies." Proceeding with his theme he lamented the great short-coming of Indian scholarship, *viz.*, "the lack of first-hand knowledge about Chinese, Tibetan and other foreign sources of Indian history," and the dearth of Indian scholars in the fields of Indus Valley civilisation and Greater Indian culture. He concluded by saying that

the historians should now co-ordinate their efforts for the preparation of a comprehensive history of India.

The afternoon of the 15th December and the whole of the following day were devoted to the meetings of the different sections of the Congress of which there were as many as five this year,

Section I.—Archaic (*sic*) Period (President, Prof. A. S. Altekar).

Section II.—Early Imperial (*sic*) Period (President, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri).

Section III.—Early Mediaeval Period (President, Dr. M. Nazim).

Section IV.—Mughal Period including early Maratha-Sikh History (President, Dr. Tarachand).

Section V.—Modern Period including later Maratha-Sikh History (President, Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari).

The number of papers offered at the session is eloquent of the growing popularity of the Congress. In Section I as many as 21 papers were read, in Section II 30 papers, in Section III 26 papers, in Section IV 24 papers, and in Section V 32 papers.

By a proper observance of the time-limit for the reading of papers it was possible to provide for discussions on the more important of their numbers.

A notable feature of the Congress was the Historical Exhibition which was held in the historic University Senate Hall and was opened by the Chief Minister (Hon. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq). Here was shown on proper stands and in suitable show-cases a large variety of antiquities (terra-cottas, sculptures, bronzes, copper-plates, coins and paintings, belonging to the different collections of the University Asutosh Museum (including the famous P. C. Nahar and the little-known Sundarban collections) and those of Government departments, museums, learned institutions and private individuals. Here also was shown a large number of documents from the Imperial Records Departments as well as the Records of the Punjab and Bengal



Governments. A lantern lecture on prehistoric India by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit on the evening of the 15th December in the University Darbhanga Hall was another source of attraction to the visitors. As is usual on such occasions the business of the Congress was not neglected, there being one meeting of the Congress Executive which was followed by the plenary and the concluding sessions of the Congress. At these meetings among other things the Office-bearers were elected for the following year and resolutions were passed for exploring the avenues for financing the much-talked of scheme of a comprehensive History of India to be undertaken under the auspices of the Congress.

The Numismatic Society of India wisely decided to hold its Annual Meeting (in the University Building) along with the session of the Indian History Congress on the 17th and 18th December. On the 1st day the President Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit delivered an excellent address in course of which he reviewed the work of the preceding year and pointed out the lines for future research. This was followed by an informing paper on a newly-discovered hoard of Sātavāhana coins read by Prof. V. V. Mirashi. The second day was devoted to the reading of papers and the business of the Society.

The authorities of the Congress arranged a varied programme of entertainments which were appreciated by the assembled members and delegates. These consisted of a musical soirée at the Asutosh Hall, an enjoyable tea party at the garden and aviary of Dr. S. C. Law, a sumptuous dinner party at the residence of Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, a steamer trip down the river and a short excursion to the historic site of Trivenī *via* Uttarpara and Chander-nagore. The session was brought to a happy close by a dinner party on the evening of the 17th December at the palatial residence of Dr. N. N. Law. For the entertainment of the guests Dr. Law tastefully decorated and illuminated his house and provided charming music. The guests were taken round his large library specially rich in its col-



lection of works and journals on Indian history and culture. At the end of the dinner the President of the Congress warmly thanked the host in a short speech to which the latter gave a nice little reply expressing his gratification that so many distinguished scholars graced his house by their presence.

Altogether the 3rd Session of the Indian History Congress proved to be a great success. The next session takes place at Lahore on a date to be announced later.

U. N. Ghoshal

## NOTES AND NEWS

The Greater India Society extends its most hearty congratulations to its much-respected *Purodha*, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, on his receiving the high and well-deserved honour of Doctorate of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) of the Oxford University. The solemn ceremony of investiture took place on the 7th August, 1940, at Santiniketan in the presence of a distinguished gathering which included a batch of graduates of Oxford University and the representatives of Calcutta, Aligarh and Delhi Universities besides members of the Governing Body of Dr. Tagore's own University, the Visva-Bharati. The proceedings started with the chanting of some beautiful Vedic verses by Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya and the singing of a welcome song by the choir of Dr. Tagore's *asrama*. Then Mr. Justice Henderson of the Calcutta High Court, in accordance with the Oxford tradition, presented the poet before Sir Maurice Gwyer (representing the Vice-Chancellor of the University) in a Latin speech. This excellent address, of which an English translation was read by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, began by eulogising the services of the poet's talented family. It then went on to describe "the astonishing range" of the poet's versatile genius combined with "his essential humanity", his famous Academy seeking to inculcate among the students a love of pure learning, and his fearless criticism of the British Raj and of his fellow-citizens on occasions of necessity. This was followed by a nice little speech from Sir Maurice Gwyer formally admitting "this most-beloved priest of the Muses" to the coveted degree. In acknowledging the high honour the poet made a short but stirring speech in Sanskrit of which he read out an English translation. He accepted the honour, he said, as "a symbol of the undying human spirit" and "amid the present era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth", he

renewed his "faith in the perennial growth of civilisation towards an ultimate purpose". Sir Maurice followed with an eloquent address in course of which he stressed the prominence given by both the poet's and the Oxford University to the virtue of tolerance, "the foundation of true democracy" and after referring to the present world-crisis, he hoped that the ultimate victory of democracy would produce "that true discipline of mind which alone can create a free and tranquil world". He concluded with the prayer that through the bonds which were forged that day there might pass and repass a vital current in which the spiritual forces of the West and the East might mingle and draw strength from one another. A recitation in Sanskrit brought the memorable function to a close.

We give below *in extenso* the above addresses :—

#### ADDRESS OF MR. JUSTICE HENDERSON

*Vir Insignissime, Matris Oxoniae Gratissima Suboles,  
Qui Domini*

Vice-Cancellarii et Procuratorum vicem geris, hodie adest illustrissimus Indiæ filius, cuius in domo, ut in nulla usquam alia, Horatianum illud

fortes creantur fortibus et honis

repræsentari videmus. Quid avum referam, primum illum religionum ac disciplinæ novæ conditorem, inter primos quoque e popularibus suis quos trans Oceanum dissociabilem navigasse et usque ad ultimos Britannos advectos esse constat? Quid patrem, virum rectissimum, religionum hunc quoque vindicem acerrimum, cuius sanctitas ac sapientia suis omnibus innotuit? Quid sororem, mulierem excultissimam, quæ fictas de suis historias prima Indarum conscribere ausa est? Quid fratrum illum trinionem, quorum unus, ut patriæ administrationi interesset, primus Indorum ascitus est, alter in litteris ac philosophia, tertius in arte Apellea inter æquales eminebat? Sed genti suæ quartus hic fratrum vita, ingenio, moribus tantum veræ laudis addi-

tamentum contulit, ut de se ipse posset, nisi quidem viro sanctissimo verecundia obstaret, eisdem quibus Scipio ille verbis iure optimo prædicare

virtutes generis mieis moribus accumulavi.

Quid quod adest doctissimus litterarum artifex, sive vincto numeris sermone utitur seu soluto? Ecce que lyrica, fabulas, satiras, historias, omne fere scribendi genus tetigit, nullum non ornavit. O miram in eodem viro fecunditatem, miram facundiam! Qui, prout fert animi pæne divini agilitas, docet nos, ridet, exagitat, delectat, commovet, ea tamen lege ut hominem vere esse, humani nihil a se alienum putantem, semper appareat. Quid quod adest musicus, omnibus velut numeris absolutus, novorum mille modorum repertor? Quid quod philosophus eximius, qui rerum, hominum, deorum denique naturam penitus perscrutatus, mentis illam *ataraxiam* optatam a multis, a paucis conquisitam, iam tandem est consecutus? Et tamen his ille studiis deditus non sibi tantum vixit. Nihil enim antiquius ratus quam ut pueri bonis artibus instituantur, scholae illius egregiae, ubi discipulis ad philosophandum informandis sapientissime consulitur, est auctor idem atque fautor. Accedit quod publico commodo umbratilem vitae condicionem non ita praetulit ut pulverem ac solem reipublicae omnino detrectaverit: est ubi in forum descendere dedignatus non sit, est ubi nos Britannos, est ubi praefactorum auctoritatem, siquid perperam fieri visum sit, in iudicium vocare non reformidaverit, est ubi cives errantes castigare sustinuerit. Quid plura? Adest poeta et scriptor *myrionous*, adest musicus in arte sua praeclarissimus, adest et verbo et re philosophus, adest disciplinae ac doctrinae bonae fautor acerrimus, adest civitatis defensor ardentissimus, adest denique qui vitae ac morum sanctitate omnes omnium ubique approbationes sibi vindicavit. Itaque, Vice-Cancellario, Doctoribus Magistris omnibus uno animo faventibus, praesento tibi virum *mousikotaton*, Rabindranath Tagore, praemio Nobeliano iam insignitum, ut Oxoniensium quoque lauream accipiat et admittatur ad gradum Doctoris in Litteris honoris causa.

## ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE

Honoured Sir, on whom the choice of your mother Oxford has fallen to sit to-day in the place of the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, you have before you India's most distinguished son, in whose family no more perfect illustration can be found of that verse of Horace: "A noble line gives proof of noble sires".

Let me recall his grand-father, the member of a new religious faith and a new fraternity, who was one of the first of his countrymen to cross the estranging sea and visit the distant land of Britain; his father, a religious leader of singular rectitude and burning faith, whose piety and wisdom distinguished him among all his countrymen. I recall his gifted sister, and the first of her sex in India to attempt a novel of Indian life; his three brothers of whom one was the first Indian member of the Indian Civil Service, a second was distinguished among his contemporaries in philosophy and a third in literature and the arts. But the fourth brother who is present before you now has by his life, his genius and his character augmented so greatly the fame of his house that, did his piety and modesty not forbid, none would have a better right to say in Scipio's famous phrase: "My life has crowned the virtues of my line." You see in him a great scholar and a great artist, both in prose and in verse; one who has written poetry, romance, satire, history; who has left scarcely any field of literature untouched and has touched nothing that he has not adorned. How rarely has such richness of imagination been combined with such elegance of style! How astonishing is the range of his versatile genius, wisdom and laughter, terror and delight, the power of stirring our deepest emotions! And yet we are always conscious of his essential humanity, of a man who thinks nothing beneath his notice, if only it is concerned with mankind. You see in him a musician who seems to obey no rules and yet has invented a thousand new melodies; a distinguished philosopher deeply versed in natural philosophy, in ethics and in theology and who has at the last

achieved that complete serenity of mind sought by how many and won by how few. Yet all dedicated as he has been to those pursuits, he has not lived for himself alone ; for deeming good education for the young the most venerable of all institutions he has been the founder and director of this famous Academy, whose purpose is by wise methods to inculcate among its students a love of pure learning. Let it also be said that he has not valued a sheltered life so far above the public good as to hold himself wholly aloof from the dust and heat of the world outside ; for there have been times when he has not scorned to step down into the market-place ; when, if he thought that a wrong had been done he has not feared to challenge the British raj itself and the authority of its magistrates ; and when he has boldly corrected the faults of his own fellow-citizens. What more can I say ? Here before you is the myriad-minded poet and writer, the musician famous in his art, the philosopher proved both in word and deed, the fervent upholder of learning and sound doctrine, the ardent defender of public liberties, one who by the sanctity of his life and character has won for himself the praise of all mankind. And so with the unanimous approval of the Vice-Chancellor, the Doctors, and the Masters of the University, I present to you a man most dear to all the muses, Rabindranath Tagore, already a Nobel prizeman, in order that he may receive the laurel wreath of Oxford also and be admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Literature honoris causa.

#### SPEECH OF SIR MAURICE GWYER

Vir venerabilis et doctissime, musarum sacerdos dilectissime, ego nomine Domini Vice-Cancellarii et auctoritate totius Universitatis admitto te ad gradum Doctoris in Litteris honoris causa.

Venerable and learned Sir, most beloved priest of the Muses, in the name of the Vice-Chancellor and with the authority of the whole University, I admit you to the Degree of Doctor of Letters honoris causa.

## REPLY BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

भवन्त उक्ततीर्थविश्वविद्यालयप्रतिभुवः !

एषोऽस्मि कश्चित् कविर्भारतवर्षस्य ।

तं मां सम्भावयन्ती सा किल भवतां प्रज्ञा विद्याभूमिर्नूनात्मानो  
मानवधर्माग्रायमेव महान्तमाविष्कर्तुमीहते यस्य खल्वर्थः साम्प्रतमतितरां  
गम्भीरश्चानतिपाल्यश्च संवृत्तः । गर्वोत्तानं मे चित्तं प्रतिपद्यास्य वाचिकं प्रतिपत्तिं  
चैतां प्रहितां प्रतीकमिवानश्वरं मानवधर्मात्मनः । सभाजयामि भवतोऽल-  
शान्तिनिकेतने । यदेतदनर्थमुपायनमानीतं भवद्भिर्मदर्थं मद्देशार्थं चिरं  
तदवस्थास्यतेऽस्मद्दृष्टेषु सम्पत्स्यते च तद्भवतामस्माकं च साधारणसंस्कृति-  
सम्पत्तय इति प्रतीयन्तु भवन्तः ।

स खल्वयं कालः प्रवर्धते यत्नाङ्कः । तिरोधत्ते गुणः । प्रसरत्य-  
शिष्टत्वं निरङ्कुशम् । प्रवर्त्तते च पशूचिता स्पृहा भोगे समुपचीयमानो  
भूतविद्यया ।

अस्मिन् हि व्यतिकरे कस्यापि भुवनव्यापिनः सम्बन्धस्य बीजसमुद्भूतोक्तिर्नाम  
कदाचित् कविजनोचितेव प्रतीयेत ।

तथापि तु संयम्यते कालस्तर्ज्जयन्नपि निरन्तरम् । किञ्च ये नाम  
वयमतीत्याप्येनं जीवामः प्रतीमश्च यदार्थधर्मश्चरमार्थसम्पत्तये वर्धेतैव नित्यमिति  
तैस्माभिः सेयं प्रतीतिरवशं प्रत्यग्रीकरणीया ।

क्षेमं वतेदं निमित्तं कस्याप्यनागतस्य समयस्येति प्रतिगृह्यते मयैषा  
प्रतिपत्तिर्विहितोक्ततीर्थविश्वविद्यालयेन । नूनं न जीविष्याम्यहमवलोकयितुमेनं  
प्रतिष्ठितम् । सभाजनीयस्त्वेष तस्य सप्रणयः संकेतः सङ्गर इव दिवसानां  
प्रशस्यतराणामिति शिवम् ॥

शान्तिनिकेतनम्

रवीन्द्रनाथठाकुरः ।

शकाब्दा १८३१/४/२२



## ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE

Delegates from Oxford University,

In honouring me, an Indian poet, your ancient seat of learning has chosen to express its great tradition of humanity. This tradition, to-day, has acquired a deeper and more pressing significance ; I feel proud to accept its message, and the recognition it conveys. as a symbol of the undying spirit of man. I welcome you here at Santiniketan, and I assure you that this friendly gift that you have brought to me and to my country, will remain in our hearts and bid us stand together for the common cause of civilisation.

In an era of mounting anguish and vanishing worth, when disaster is fast overtaking countries and continents, with savagery let loose and brutal thirst for possession augmented by science, it may sound merely poetic to speak of any emerging principle of world-wide relationship. But Time's violence, however immediately threatening, is circumscribed, and we who live beyond it and dwell also in the larger reality of Time, must renew our faith in the perennial growth of civilisation toward an ultimate purpose.

I accept this recognition from Oxford University as a happy augury of an Age to come, and though I shall not live to see it established, let me welcome this friendly gesture as a promise of better days.

## CONCLUDING ADDRESS BY SIR MAURICE GWYER

Sir, on behalf of the University Oxford I salute its youngest Doctor, and I deem it a privilege indeed to have taken part in this memorable ceremony, in which the University whose representative I am has, in honouring you, done honour to itself. I shall not fail to convey to the University your gracious words of acceptance, spoken in that ancient tongue, the venerable mother from whom the language of the University's Address and the language which I now speak trace alike their origin.

You Sir, belong to and have adorned a generation which

perhaps more than any other in history exalted reason and freedom of thought ; but you have ever insisted that to these must be added other virtues, graciousness, simplicity and the love of beauty. And have not Santiniketan and my own University this in common, that each bases its education upon recognition of and respect for human personality ? Do they not both attribute pre-eminence to the virtue of tolerance, since none can claim respect for his own personality unless he is willing to respect that of others ? These indeed are the foundation of true democracy, which has a spiritual content and is something more than one of many kinds of political mechanism ; and its success has been, and will always be, in proportion as those who live under it are conscious of its spiritual and intellectual elements.

But in the present nightmare world the doctrines which you and those who think with you have taught and practised are in deadly peril ; and we are witnessing an attempt to assassinate reason, to prescribe tolerance, and to crush the human spirit beneath a monstrous materialism. In this Magian conflict the liberty of the human soul itself is at stake and the conflict must be fought out to the end, if darkness is not to fall once more upon the earth. There is no compromise and there is no truce in that war.

We must not doubt, unless all our most cherished beliefs are a mockery and a cheat, what the final issue will be, though it may not come until after much blood and many tears. But the victory would be barren indeed, if a new generation is not bred and confirmed in that true discipline of mind which alone can create a free and tranquil world. The evil men who are now harrying Europe knew their business well when in the countries they have ravished they singled out for destruction the Universities and ancient seats of learning, the sanctuary and refuge of the humanities. Though war can be waged, as this war is being waged, in defence of a sublime cause, and has power to evoke some of the noblest qualities of mankind, yet in itself it is an accursed thing, and its infection will destroy civilisation

unless it is itself destroyed. But in the words which Milton puts into the mouth of the apostate Angel,—

“who overcomes

By force, hath overcome but half his foe”,  
and Apollyon must be met and conquered not on the field of battle alone but also in that kingdom of ideas and of the mind, where it is the teachers and philosophers who can most effectively sustain the cause.

We have watched with dismay even in the years before the war the substitution of emotion for thought and its swift degeneration into blind and often hysterical submission to the will of a leader accountable to none but himself; for unless a political society is invigorated by a multitude of separate springs of thought and action, neither democracy nor any system based upon the freedom of the mind can hope to survive. Is not the clamant need of our day hard intellectual effort and the habit of independent judgment; courage to face realities, and not to deny the existence of problems we are too indolent to solve; reverence for the spirit of an ancient culture, without servility to the past or attempts to reverse the evolutionary process? Such I believe to be the principles which inspire your teaching in this place, and such are those of my own University.

Sir, I thank you for your welcome. It is my earnest prayer that through those bonds which have been forged to-day between an ancient foundation and a new there may pass and repass a vital current in which the spiritual forces of the west and the east may mingle and if God will, draw strength from one another. May the love of true learning be ever cherished in their place; and may there ever be granted to all their children, “hope still to find, strength still to climb, the spheres.”

## Editor's Note

As we are going to Press, we have much pleasure in announcing the publication of the results of archaeological excavations in Malaya undertaken by Dr. and Mrs. H. G. Quaritch Wales, Field-Director and Assistant Field-Director respectively of the Greater India Research Committee. This work which has appeared as a special number of the Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XVIII, Part I, February 1940) is the fruit of fourteen months' arduous field-work (between 1937 and 1939) in the Malay States of Kedah, Perak and Johore. It was made possible by generous grants of those States to which the authors make grateful acknowledgments. The work before us consists of two parts—the longer part under the heading 'Exploration and Research' giving a plain narrative of new facts brought to light by excavations, while the shorter part summarises some of the authors' broader deductions from these facts. Fifteen figures of maps and plans and eighty-nine plates enhance the usefulness of this highly important publication which has thrown new light on a number of points relating to early Indian colonisation of Malay. Altogether thirty sites from Kedah and two each from Perak and Johore have been explored by the indefatigable authors who have already made their mark by their momentous discoveries on the ancient site of Śrīdeva. We reserve a complete review of the present publication for a future number of our Journal.

## Annual Meeting of the Greater India Society

The Annual Meeting of the Managing Committee of the Society was held in the University College of Science on the 19th July 1940, with Sir P. C. Ray, President of the Society in the Chair. Among the items of business transacted at the Meeting were the passing of the Annual accounts (as audited by Mr. P. K. Sen, Chartered Accountant), the election of Patrons, Office-bearers, and other members of the Managing Committee, and the election of the members of the Journal Sub-Committee. By another resolution Drs. S. K. Chatterjee and Kalidas Nag were requested to call on Dr. Narendra Nath Law in connection with the arrangements for celebrating the President's completion of his 80th year and for accommodation of the Society's stock of publications.<sup>1</sup> We give below extracts from the Annual Report of the Society for 1939 which was adopted at the same meeting.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE GREATER INDIA SOCIETY for 1939.

#### *General*

"The Greater India Society completed the 12th year of its existence in 1939. The Society's record of work during the year under review is on the whole one of progress, although the international situation could not but adversely affect its interests.

1. We have pleasure in announcing that Dr. Law has since agreed most kindly to bear the whole cost of celebrating the President's function which will take place some time after the autumn holidays. The Society also takes this opportunity of announcing that Dr. Law has been good enough to undertake to place one of his rooms permanently at the disposal of the Society for meeting its urgent question of accommodation.

*Management*

"No change took place in the constitution of the Managing Committee during the year. The same was the case with the personnel of the Journal Sub-Committee. The Honorary Secretary continued to discharge the duties of Honorary Editor of the Society's Journal over and above his other work. The business of both committees was disposed of, as the occasion arose, by circulation among the members.

*Office*

"No change took place in the office establishment..... The typing for office work was done *gratis* as in former years, by Mr. Ramesh Kumar Ghoshal, M.A., Mr. P. K. Sen very kindly acted as Honorary Auditor of the Society's accounts for the year. The Committee takes this opportunity to convey its heart-felt thanks to this last-named gentleman for the offer of his valuable services for three years in succession.

*Members and subscribers*

"The number of members on the Society's roll on the 31st December 1939 remained nearly the same as on the corresponding date of 1938....The number of subscribers to the Society's Journal showed a slight decrease...The Committee has the pleasant duty of thanking as in former years the various Provincial Governments in India and Burma, the different Indian Universities, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Superintendents of various Archaeological circles, the Government Epigraphist for India and the enlightened Governments of Baroda, Mysore Travancore, Gwalior and Indore for their continued patronage of the Society's Journal.

*Finance*

"The closing balance of the Society's accounts on the 31st December 1939 was Rs. 1355-7-8 as compared with Rs. 1148-9-8 the corresponding figure for the previous year. As against this favourable state of the society's finances must



be set its commitments namely, the cost of publication of the two under-mentioned works, Prof. Tucci's *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* and the English version of Dr. N. J. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*. On the receipt side the Committee has again most gratefully to acknowledge the kind grant of Rupees four hundred from the National Council of Education (Bengal) and Rupees one hundred from Dr. Narendra Nath Law, an esteemed member of the Managing Committee of the Society. During the period under review receipts under the head Sale of Books and Pamphlets amounted to Rs. 184-1-6 with which may be compared the figure for the preceding years ; Rs. 415-12-6 (1936-37), & Rs. 543-8-9 (1935-36). This serious setback is partly to be attributed to the present international situation and partly to the failure of the Society to get free advertisements of its publications as before...On the expenditure side the charges under Publications proved as usual to be the heaviest item, accounting for not less than Rs. 448-0-9 with which may be compared the corresponding figures from the last Annual Report namely, Rs. 911-5-0 (from 1st April 1937 to 31st December 1938). The next heaviest item consisted of Allowances to Staff namely, Rs. 165-3-0. This included the typist's and proof-reader's charges for the two issues of the Journal. This figure compares favourably with the corresponding figure in the preceding report namely, Rs. 208-0-0. The postal charges during the year under review amounted to the modest sum of Rs. 86-7-6, the corresponding figures from the last Annual Report being Rs. 193-14-3.

#### Lectures

"As in previous years the Society arranged a number of popular lectures in accordance with the terms of its agreement with the National Council of Education, Bengal. The range and variety of the lectures may be realised from the under-mentioned lists: (1) Art and Archaeology in the North-West-Frontier Province (Dr. Kalidas Nag), (2) Early Buddhism in Burma (Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray), (3) Indian



Culture in Afghanistan (Dr. U. N. Ghoshal), (4) Indian Influences on Burmese Literature (Pandit Giris Chandra Vidyabinode), (5 & 6) Indian Influences on Burmese Monastic Life Pandit (G. C. Vidyabinode) and (7 & 8) Indian Influences on Burmese Social Life (Pandit G. C. Vidyabinode). To all these gentlemen who have benefited the Society with their lectures the Committee offers its most grateful thanks.

### *Publications*

"Two issues of the Journal of the Society (Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 2) appeared in course of the year. The Committee notes with satisfaction that notwithstanding the outbreak of the European war contributions were not lacking from the pen of leading scholars both Indian and foreign. It has also to be mentioned that there was no falling off in the number and variety of books sent to the Journal for review as well as in the number of first-grade Journals on its exchange list. All the new accessions of the Society were made over, according to the existing arrangement, to the Calcutta University Library for being kept as a separate collection. Among the publications taken in hand by the Society, the printing of Prof. G. Tucci's *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley* was all but completed, only the Tibetan Text being kept by the author for correction of proofs. Another work namely, the English translation of Prof. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, after being revised by the author was sent to the translator for further improvement of the language. The Committee repeats the regret expressed in the preceding Annual Report that all the Bulletins of the Society except one continue to remain out of stock or very nearly so. The Committee earnestly trusts that the revised editions of these useful monographs for which there is a steady demand might be undertaken at no distant date.

### *Congress and Conference*

"During the last year the Society was glad to accept the invitation from the authorities of the Tenth All-India Oriental

Conference at Hyderabad for sending delegates to the Conference. But the Conference was unfortunately postponed owing to the international situation. At the third session of the Indian Historical Congress held at Calcutta in December last the Society was represented by a number of delegates including Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, Mr. J. N. Banerjea and Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray. All these gentlemen actively participated in the work of the Conference, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal serving as Secretary of one of the sections.

#### Conclusion

"In concluding this brief report on the working of the Society for the last year the Committee cannot but convey its heart-felt thanks to those esteemed patrons and well-wishers of the Society who have helped it in various ways. Grateful mention has already been made of the kind help of the authorities of the National Council of Education, Bengal, of Dr. Narendra Nath Law and of Mr. P. K. Sen. Mention has also been made of the valuable help given by the Editor of *The Modern Review* as regards advertisement of the Society's publications. The Committee, however, feels that funds are urgently needed for meeting some of the Society's immediate needs. Such specially is the need for housing the Society's growing collection of publications. Still greater is the need for young recruits for continuing the good work that the Society has started on such a modest scale. The Committee appeals to all lovers of Indian culture, Indian and foreign to take up this work and it earnestly trusts that its appeal will not go in vain."

## Principal Contents of Oriental Journals

### **Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, VII, 1940**

This comprehensive report of the Royal Batavian Society for 1939, after a brief survey of the administration of the Society, describes the work of conservators of different sections, under the heads: (A) Pre-historic collection, (B) Archaeological collection, (C) Historical collection, (D) Ceramic collection, (E) Musicological collection, (F) Ethnography collection, and (G) Mss. collection. In section A, the objects described are mostly axes, chellean tools and armlets. Among the objects described by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in section B, there are bronze and stone images of Nandi, Buddha, Vasudhārā and Avalokiteśvara, mā coins, gold *līṅga*, ear-rings, finger-rings and gold-plates with single-word inscriptions. Under section C, Dr. van der Hoop describes some acquisitions of highly artistic interest which are well-illustrated. Section D mentions a porcelain plate of the 15th century, incense pots of 13th and 16th centuries (all of Chinese workmanship) some excellent vases and stone objects, all of which are beautifully illustrated. Section E, which is well described by Dr. van der Hoop mainly refers to canvas paintings. Under section G, Drs. Poerbatjaraka and Pigeaud describe acquisitions of some new Javanese Mss.

### **Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde, LXXX, afl. 2, 1940.**

In his paper, *Remarks on Onomatopoeia, sound-symbolism and word-formation apropos of the Theories of Maxwell*, Prof. J. Gonda while recognising Maxwell's profound knowledge of Malay languages strongly criticises his unscientific and unsystematic method of research.

**Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van  
Nederlandsch-Indië, Dl. 99, afl. 1, 1940.**

In the paper *Taalbeschouwing en Taalbeoefening*, J. Gonda reviews the scientific basis of language-study with special reference to the languages of the Indian Archipelago and views of previous authors on the subject.

Dr. N. J. Krom in his paper *Tjandi Papak* suggests that what Sieburgh calles Candi Papak is Candi D., which is the find spot of the Leiden Prajñāpāramitā and perhaps the mortuary temple of the ancestors of Singasari and Majapahit kings.

**Djawa, No. 2, 1940**

Mr. Wediodiningrat in the paper *Fragmenten uit het Dewaroetji*, gives a summary of the Old-Javanese poem *Devaruci* as adapted by Jasadipura. In course of this he attempts to explain the inner significance and philosophical background of the poet's theme.

**Oudheidkundig Verslag 1939**

It gives a report of the many-sided activities of the Archaeological Department of Netherlands-India during the year. Among other points we notice continuation of restoration of the main temple of the Lara Jonggrang complex and completion of the restoration of Candi Gebang. The remains at Lie Hwat Gie at Surakarta yielded a group of ten Guru images, 12 Durgās, 3 Śivas, 1 Viṣṇu, 1 Brahmā, 3 Ganeśas, 6 Mahākālas, 1 Nandīśvara, and other objects. Two inscriptions were discovered at Surakarta, one of King Balitung of 905 A. D. and the other of Dang Ācārya Munīndra belonging to 885 A. D.

H. B. S.

**Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of  
Burma, for the year 1938-39.**

Under the head 'Exploration and Research,' the Superintendent reports the results of his excavation of a mound

in the suburb of Rangoon. This revealed the remains of a ruined *stūpa* with terra-cotta votive tablets, a relic chamber with numerous objects, a few laterite statues of Buddha and a bronze statue of Dipankara Buddha supposed to belong to the Gupta School. Under the section Miscellaneous Notes, the Superintendent publishes an excellent edition of the famous gold-leaf Pali Ms. of Old Prome, the need for such an edition being strongly expressed by Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray in his paper on "The Early Buddhism of Burma" contributed to this Journal (*JGIS.*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 47).

U. N. G.

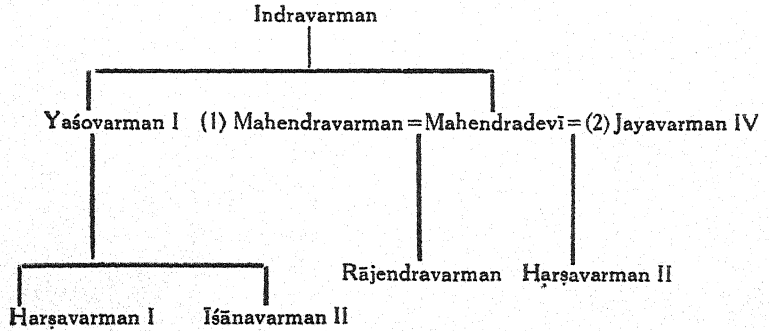
# CORRECTION SLIP

*J.G.I.S.*, Vol. VI, No. 1

Page	line	for	read
144	7	as	or
145	2	Javā	Java

*J.G.I.S.*, Vol. VII, No. 1

3	25	west	east
44	20-22	The genealogical table should be read as follows :—	

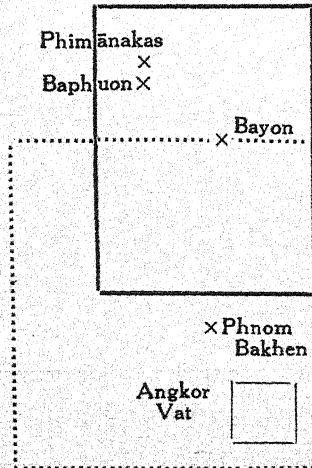


Page 44 l. 28 *after* Ta Kev *add* in Angkor Thom

„ l. 29 *for* girl *read* giri

Page 46 l. 13 omit hyphen *after* *Khmer*

Page 50: the diagram should be read as follows :—



Select opinions on the **Journal of the Greater India Society**

Dr. N. J. Krom (Leiden):

"I have much pleasure in.....congratulating you as the editor of so sound a volume containing new and interesting information. May it be the first of a long series, maintaining the same high standard".

Dr. George Cœdès (Hanoi):

"I have read with much interest the first issue of the Journal of the Greater India Society, which contains valuable papers by prominent scholars....."

Dr. G. Tucci (Rome):

"Your Journal is becoming one of the leading reviews".

Dr. Ludwig Bachhofer (Munich):

"A careful study has proved the serious and surely scientific character of the Journal."

Dr. W. Percival Yetts (London)

"I have read with much pleasure and profit the Journal....."

Dr. F. D. K. Bosch (Batavia):

".....the last issue of the Journal.....contained.....highly interesting things on the Archipelago, proving to what extent Hindu-Javanese and Sumatran history and archaeology may profit in the future, from the experience and knowledge of Indian scholars....."

Select opinions on "**Indian influences on the Literature of Java and Bali**" By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, M. A. (Pp. 415. Price Rs. 6/-)

Dr. Th. Pigeaud writes in *Djawa*, xv:—

"By his acquaintance with Indian literature, an Indian author such as Mr. Sarkar is most probably much more competent than another to recognise Indian elements in



Javanese texts, by clarifying and explaining these things, from his knowledge of Sanskrit literature. It appears to me that the progress of Indian writers, such as Mr. Sarkar in this direction, that of literary text-criticism and detail, is most promising for the enhancement of our knowledge of Javanese literature." (Translated)

Dr. M. Winternitz in course of a long review in *Archiv Orientalni*, (viii, 2, 1936) writes:—

"Mr. Sarkar's is the first comprehensive attempt of viewing the problem of Indian influences on the literature of Java and Bali from the point of view of the history of Sanskrit literature and Indian culture.....Not only the Indologist who wishes to follow up the facts of Indian literary achievements on their wanderings outside India, but also the ethnologist to whom the study of mixture of cultures is a subject of intrinsic interest, will find Mr. Sarkar's book an excellent guide through the maze of Indo-Indonesian cultural relations. We hope this valuable publication which appears as No. 1 of the Greater India Society's new series of "Greater India Studies," may soon be followed by other as interesting studies".

Dr. George Cœdès writes in the *Bulletin Française d'extreme Orient* (lxxxiv, no. 2):

"The author passes successively in review the diverse branches of this literature giving in a few cases sufficient detailed summaries of the principal texts. On this point the author has done real service not only to his compatriots desirous of knowing the expansion of their national literature, but also to those who do not read Dutch." (Translated).

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